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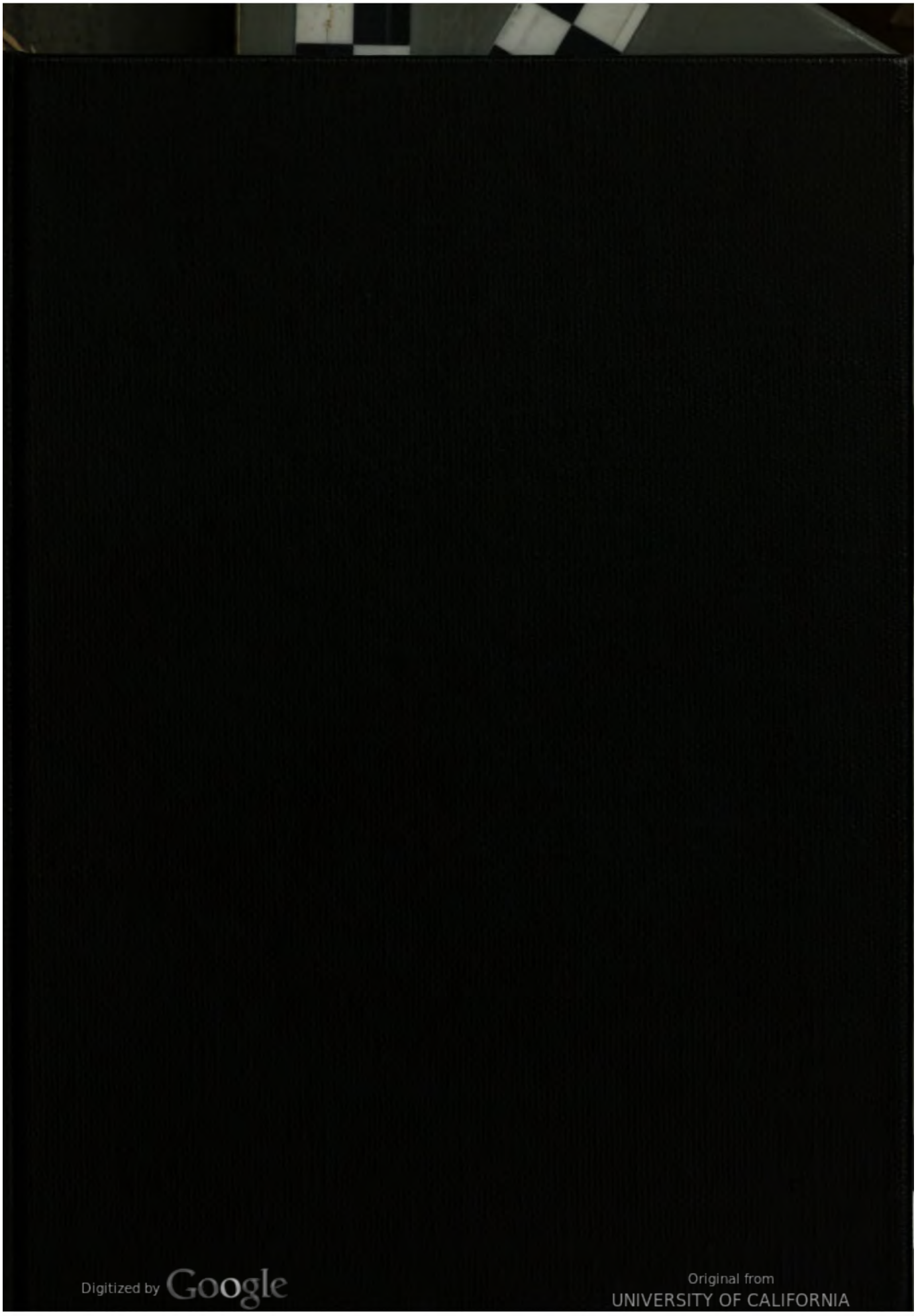


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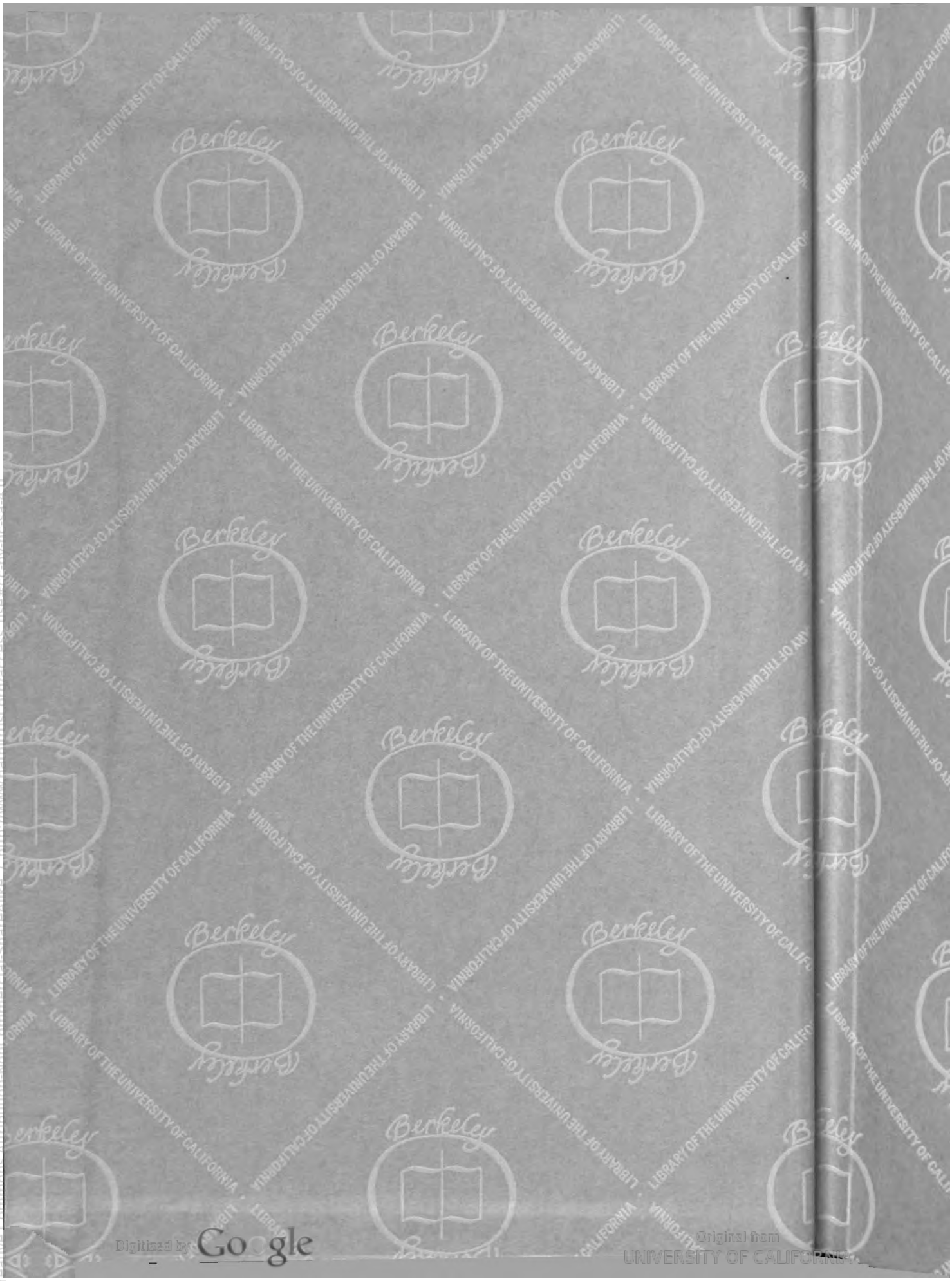
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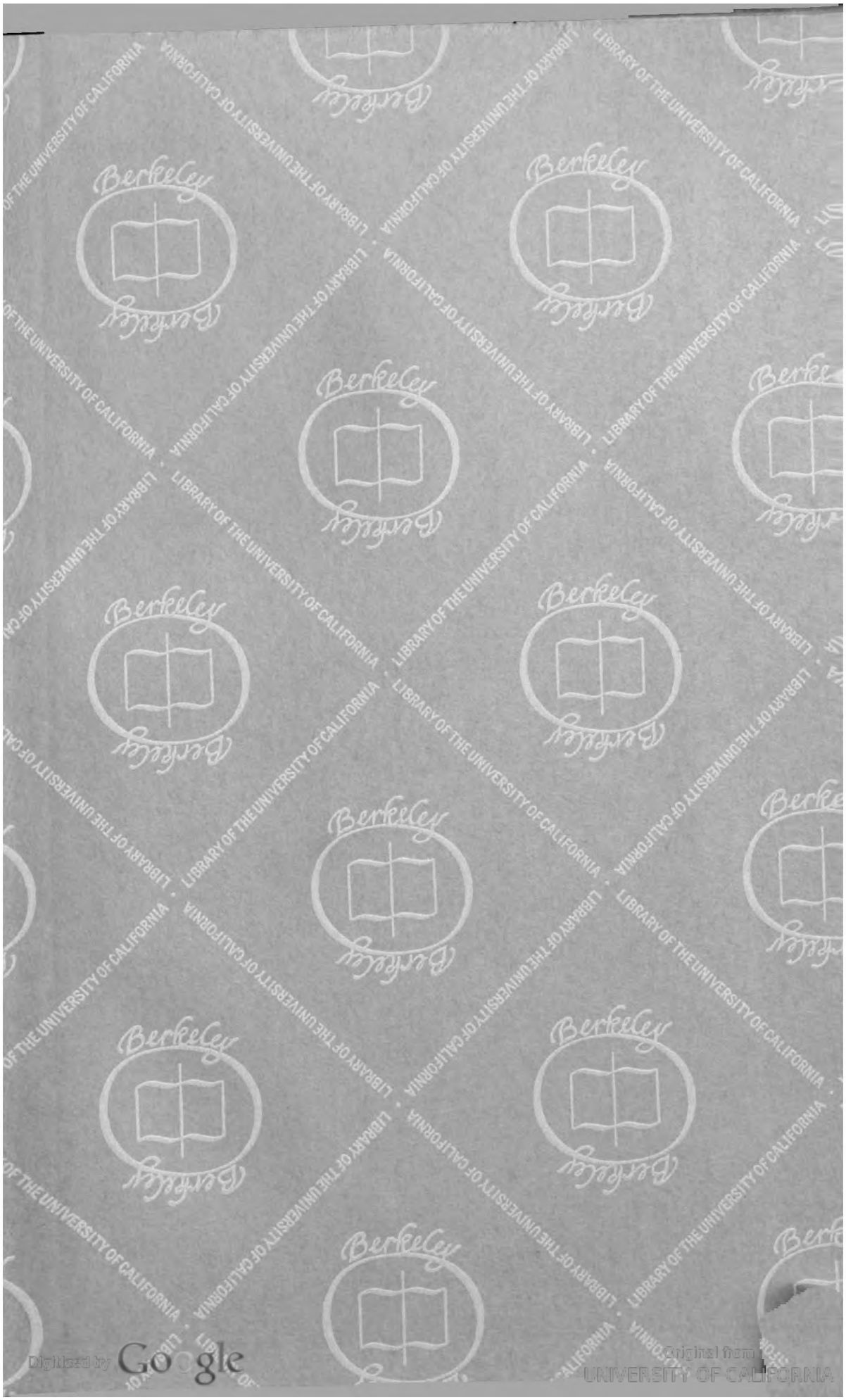
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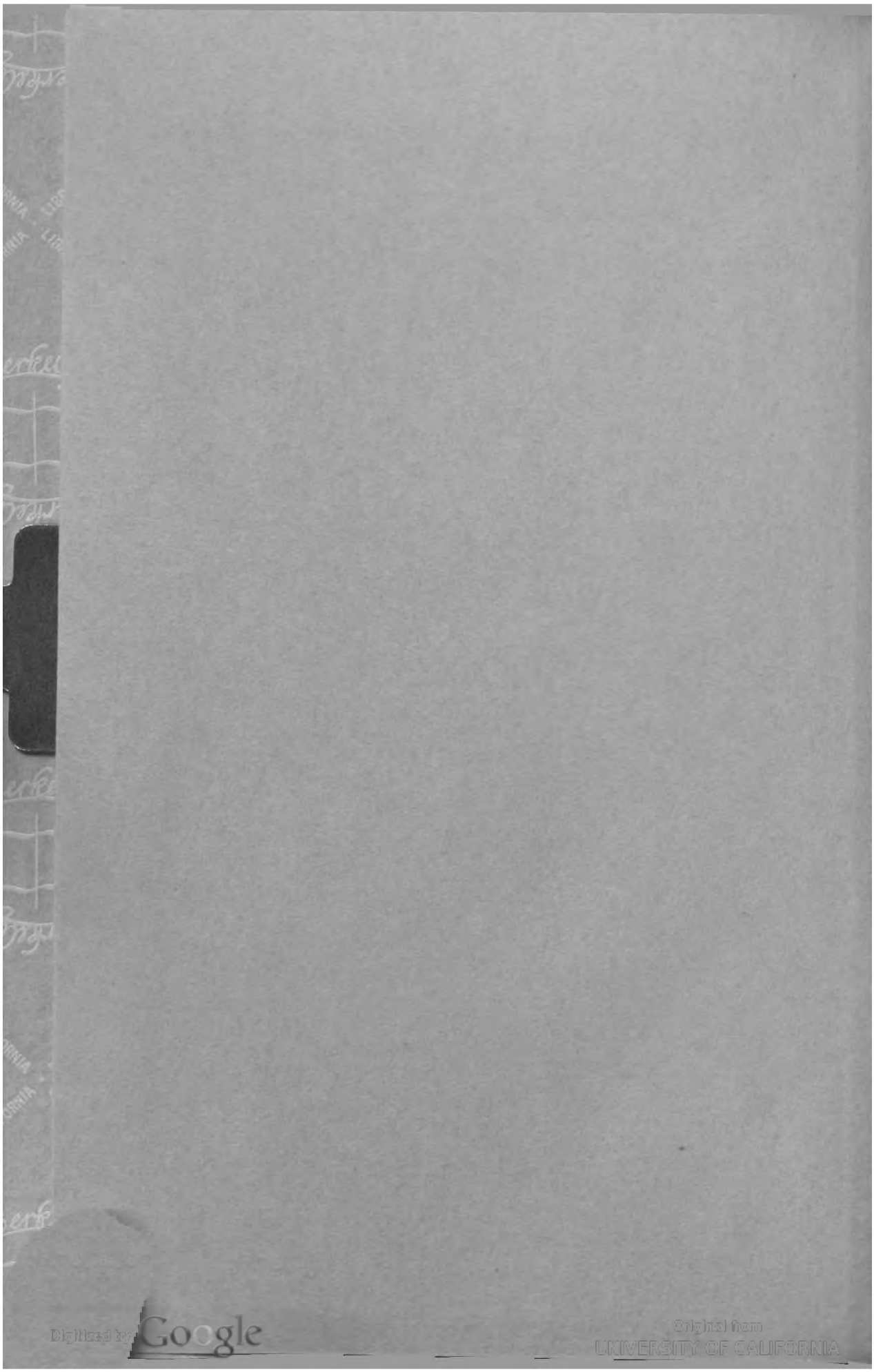


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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 143

EXCAVATION COINS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS REGION

GEORGE C. MILES

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JUN 3 1959
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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
NEW YORK
1959

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Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region

By GEORGE C. MILES



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
NEW YORK
1959

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FOREWORD

The coins described in the present catalogue were unearthed in the course of excavations conducted more than twenty years ago by Dr. Erich F. Schmidt on behalf of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, the University Museum of Philadelphia and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, at several sites in the region of Persepolis in southern Iran.[1] By far the largest number come from the test excavations at Iṣṭakhr, about six kilometers north-northeast of Persepolis at the foot of the mountain known as the Kūh-i Raḥmat. The date of the initial founding of Iṣṭakhr is obscure, but at all events there is plentiful archaeological evidence of the city's importance in Sasanian and early Islamic times. A much smaller number of coins (73 to be exact) were recovered in the limited excavations at Naqsh-i Rustam, the site of the famous rock tombs of the Achaemenian kings and the Sasanian rupestrian sculptures, a little more than six kilometers directly north of Persepolis. At Persepolis itself, aside from the Greek coins discovered in the foundation deposits and elsewhere on the terrace,[2] nineteen miscellaneous coins, ranging in date from the 3rd to the 19th century were found at various spots within and just outside the royal buildings.

[1] Cf. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, and Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*.
[2] Published in Schmidt, *Persepolis* II, pp. 110–114; and cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, pp. 76–78.

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Iṣṭakhr

The coins found in the Iṣṭakhr excavations, which took place in 1935 and 1937, received preliminary notice in a paper read at the International Numismatic Congress in Paris in 1953;[3] definitive treatment of the material was delayed first by the second World War and subsequently by numerous other commitments. The nature and results of the excavations have been briefly described by Dr. Schmidt in *The Treasury of Persepolis*, pp. 107–121. While tests were undertaken at a number of points, these excavations were limited in extent and were actually little more than "sondages." An aerial view of the site (see Plate XIX) shows the location of the various tests:[4] 1) a test in the center to virgin soil; 2) a trench west of the center in the Islamic stratum; 3) a poorly defined gate structure in the north-west area near the edge of the mound; 4) a trench in the extreme west exposing almost exclusively Sasanian foundations and some remnants of Islamic buildings; and 5) a long north-south trench with random separated plots east of the modern village fort (popularly known as the Takht-i Ṭā'us), all Islamic. No systematic records of coin finds were available to me of other tests conducted by Ernst Herzfeld previous to Dr. Schmidt's excavations.[5]

In the two seasons' operations at Iṣṭakhr 1,051 coins were recovered.[6] "Of these the vast majority, over 900, were Islamic. Only 19 were pre-Sasanian, and, somewhat surprisingly in view of the importance of Iṣṭakhr in Sasanian times, only 60 were definitely attributable to the Sasanians. One

[3] Published in Miles, *A brief Report.*
[4] Cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, p. 108, and Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 492.
[5] Cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, p. 107; Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 492.
[6] 1,053 were reported in Miles, *A brief Report*, but two pieces were later rejected as not being coins.

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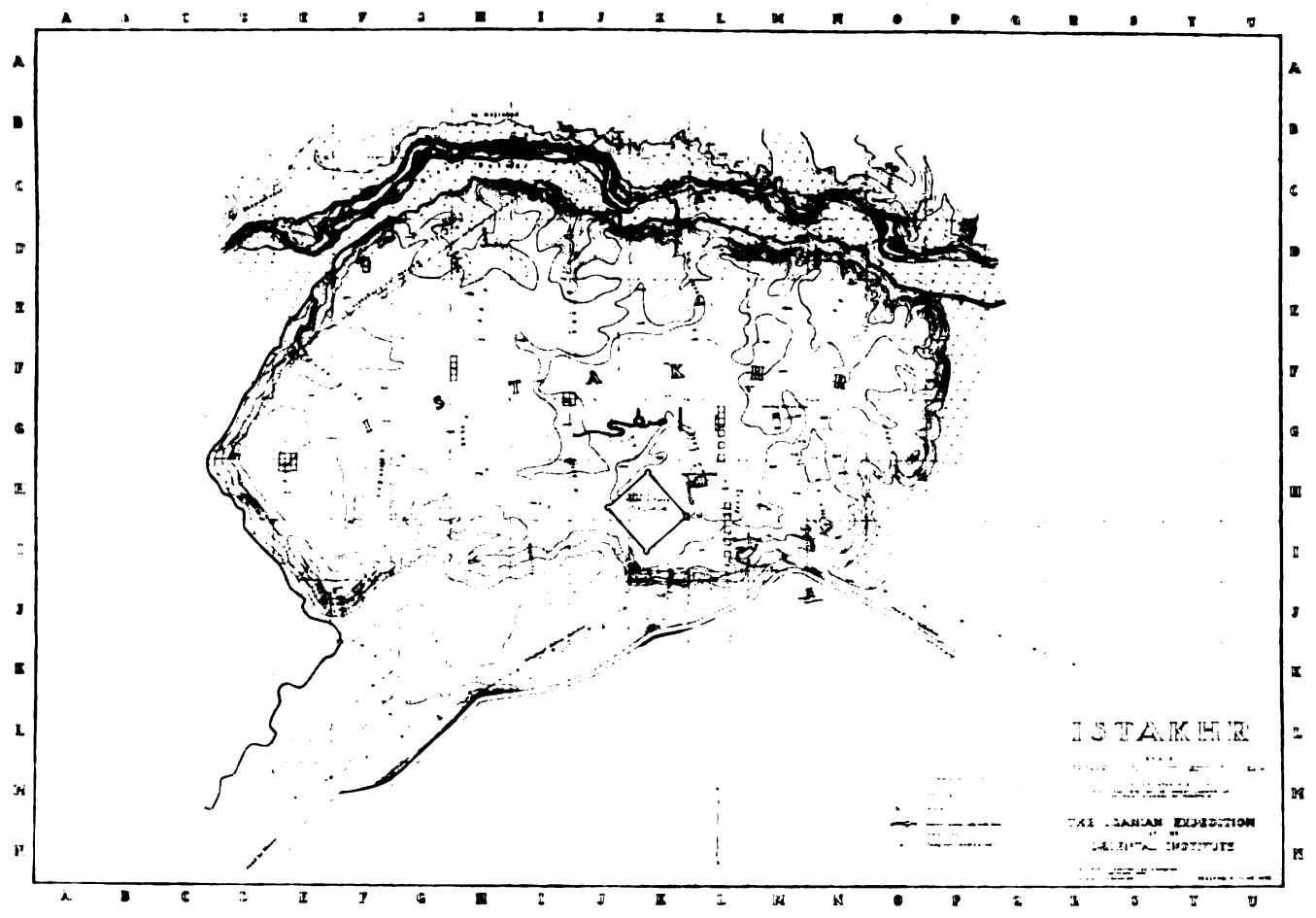


Fig. 1

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should, however, remark that these proportions are scarcely a reliable reflection of the relative importance of the several eras in terms of the area occupied or the size of the population at different times. The total area of the site is extensive: the circumvallated inner city measures 1,400 meters from east to west, and 650 meters from north to south. While the fortified enceinte evidently dates from the Sasanian period and continued to define the city proper in early Islam, the suburbs spread far beyond the city walls."[7] A careful examination of the aerial view of the site, or of the plan with overlaid grid (Fig. 1)[8] "demonstrates how relatively insignificant a portion of the total area was tested, and one can therefore reasonably assume that the almost total absence of pre-Sasanian numismatic material, the relative paucity of Sasanian coins and the preponderance of Islamic numismatic evidence is fortuitous, and that further excavations in other sections of the site might present us with quite a different numismatic pattern and a correspondingly different picture of the density and importance of the various cultural occupations."[9]

However this may be, the excavated coins point clearly to the importance and prosperity of Iṣṭakhr in early Islamic days: that is, in the late 7th century and throughout the 8th. The following table shows the distribution of coins unearthed in the Iṣṭakhr excavations according to broad chronological categories:

[7] Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 491.
[8] Cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, p. 108. A few ten-meter squares adjoining the test trenches, which were partially excavated, are not indicated on this plan.
[9] Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 492.

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Greek	1
Persis	15
Elymais	3
Sasanian	68
Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian	14
Arab-Sasanian	74
Byzantine	2
Umayyad (post-reform)	78
ʿAbbāsid partisans	2
Umayyad or ʿAbbāsid	58
ʿAbbāsid	546
Sāmānid	1
Būyid	3
Seljūq(?)	1
Ilkhānid	2
Autonomous Persian	1
Qājār	1
Unidentifiable	181
	1051[10]

The ʿAbbāsid is by far the largest class, and of this class all but ten coins (nos. 521, 553, 615, 850–856) are dated, or datable, before the year 200 of the Hijrah (815 A.D.). The preponderance of 8th century bronzes among excavation coins in the regions of the Eastern Caliphate has been remarked on before. As I observed in the preliminary publication of this material, "Just how important this fact is with respect to the dating of levels, buildings and objects it is difficult to say. The paucity of copper coins struck in Persia

[10] It will be noted that the highest number in the catalogue is 1046; the discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that there are five lettered sub-numbers in the catalogue: 602a and 849a, b, c and d. Thus $1046 + 5 = 1051$. There are some differences of categorization and sub-totals between the present definitive listing and the summary table presented in *A brief Report*, pp. 492–493; these relatively insignificant changes are the result of closer study and reorganization of the material.

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after the end of the second century H. (at least down to the Mongol period) is a well-known phenomenon, and it was my experience also in the excavations at Rayy that the vast majority of copper coins (and of course copper coins predominate in excavation finds) found at all Islamic levels were of the second half of the 2nd century. This was true also at Antioch. Whatever other causes there may have been to explain the limitation of copper issues in later centuries, it is quite possible that the large volume of coppers struck under the rules of al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdi and Hārūn al-Rashīd met the needs for small change of most communities throughout the East for several centuries.[11]

Among the ʿAbbāsid coins are no less than 24 hitherto unpublished issues (30, if varieties are counted): including one of Arrajān, four of Ardashīr-Khurrah, five of Iṣṭakhr, one of al-Ahwāz, one of Birāmqubādh, one of Jayy, three of Sābūr, one of Shīrāz, one of Fārs, two of Fasā, one of Wāsiṭ, and one without mint name. Three new mints are recorded: Jūr, the specific mint name for the chief town of the district of Ardashīr-Khurrah; Tawwaj, a town near Kāzirūn in the Ardashīr-Khurrah district; and Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs, a temporary official name for Ardashīr-Khurrah.[12] Some of these coins bear names of officials and fill gaps in the recorded history of ʿAbbāsid administration.

The next most numerous category is the post-reform

[11] Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 493. One should be cautious, however, in applying these generalizations too widely. At Jericho practically all the excavated Islamic coins were Umayyad (G. C. Miles, "Catalogue of Islamic Coins, The Excavations at Herodian Jericho, 1951," in *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XXXII–XXXIII, for 1952–4, pp. 29–41); and at Tarsus the majority of the Islamic bronzes were of the 3rd century H. (G. C. Miles, "Islamic Coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935–1937," in *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman on the Occasion of her Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Locust Valley, 1956, pp. 297–312.

[12] Cf. *A brief Report*, pp. 495–496, written before I had discovered the identity of this designation.

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Umayyad, and here again we find several unpublished types: three of Iṣṭakhr, one of Sābūr, one of Shīrāz, one (or two?) of Wāsiṭ and at least one with no mint name.

Only slightly less numerous are the pre-reform Arab-Sasanian coins and it is in this group that we find the most interesting material. Aside from a few dirhems which are comparable to published varieties, virtually everything in this category is new. Unfortunately, except for the silver dirhems, these coins are in a miserable state of preservation, as the plates will attest, and are for the most part exceedingly obscure; but what remains is of remarkable interest and adds much to our knowledge of the transitional period between the Arab conquest of Iran and the adoption of a standardized purely Arab coinage at the very end of the 7th century.[13] It is not surprising to learn that at least ten of these issues (probably we would be able to say most of them, if the mint name was preserved in every instance) were struck at Iṣṭakhr itself. Especially noteworthy are the following: an issue of al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah (?) with MUHLUP in Pahlevi and what appears to be a purely epigraphical Pahlevi reverse (no. 137); another issue evidently of the same governor with two varieties of busts, the one on the obverse Arab and that on the reverse copied from an exceptional type of Khosrau II, the divinity with the flaming headdress (nos. 138–141); two issues possibly attributable to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, one with a conventional Sasanian obverse but accompanied by an Arabic inscription, and a purely epigraphical Pahlevi reverse, and the other a hybrid Sasanian Arab-Byzantine coin showing the Caliph "orans" (nos. 142–143); another hybrid with

[13] In view of the number of hitherto unknown types among these coins one wonders how much more interesting and valuable numismatic material of local origin may lie beneath the ground on the sites of many other abandoned and unexcavated Sasanian and early Arab towns in Iran. Cf. Walker, *Coins from Susa*.

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a Byzantine-derived cross on the reverse (nos. 146–147); an issue with Sasanian obverse and an epigraphical reverse bearing the declaration of Moslem faith in Kufic and the mint name in Pahlevi (nos. 148–149); several specimens with a modified Sasanian bust, the name of the Caliph al-Walīd (?) and Arabic epigraphical reverse (nos. 155–159).

No dates are preserved on any of these Arab-Sasanian bronzes, but for various reasons explained in the catalogue, I have assigned most of them to the years between 75 and 90 H. (between 694 and 709 A.D.), a few as early as ca. 60 H. (679 A.D.) and a few possibly as late as 120 H. (738 A.D.). While theoretically ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage reform went into full effect in 79 H. (698 A.D.), we know that a few dirhems of Arab-Sasanian type were struck as late as 84 H. (703 A.D.);[14] and it is not too unexpected to find that governors and mint-masters continued even later to experiment with new adaptations in their local bronze coinage.

A few words about the specific find-spots of the coins from the Iṣṭakhr excavations. The largest number of coins from any single area was found in the 1935 excavations of four ten-meter squares in the center (no. 1 on Plate XIX, and see Plate XX): some 240 specimens. The other 1935 trench (no. 4 on Plate XIX) produced about 40 coins (plus six more in 1937). The balance of the recovered coins was scattered widely throughout the rest of the excavations, with relatively heavy concentrations in the area of the "poorly defined gate structure" (no. 3 on Plate XIX) and in three squares (GL 35, HL 76 and IL 56) of the long trench east of the fort (no. 5 on Plate XIX). The large number from the area of the gate structure is chiefly accounted for by the finding in pit no. 1 of DF 65 (field no. I–2–1520) of 74 coins in an oxidized lump

[14] See Walker, *NC* 1952, p. 108, and Miles, *Kirmān*. See also André Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), pp. 67–74, for the most recent and thorough discussion of the Arab coinage reform, particularly in its relationship to the innovations of Justinian II.

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2.70 meters below the mouth of the pit. Whether a beaker with molded design, unearthed in the pit 1.90 meters above the coins, had any connection with this lot is uncertain. In any case this hoard or accumulation of coins is homogeneous and appears to have been placed or lost in the pit toward the very end of the 2nd century of the Hijrah: 23 unidentifiable specimens are 'Abbāsid of the 2nd century (no. 633 of the catalogue), 20 are of Shīrāz, 192 H. (no. 522), five are of Sābūr, 183 H. (no. 510), five unidentifiable assigned to the "Umayyad or 'Abbāsid" group (no. 258), two each of Ardashīr-Khurrah, 182 H., Iṣṭakhr, 182 H., and Fasā, 182 H. (nos. 327, 478 and 562), and the rest, single specimens ranging in date from ca. 80–100 H. (no. 172) to 182 H. The earliest actually dated is a single specimen of Iṣṭakhr, 104 H. (no. 179).

There were two other sizable groups of coins found together in the Iṣṭakhr excavations. One was the lot of ten silver coins of Persis datable to about the 1st c. A.D. (nos. 3–12 of the catalogue) excavated in the south-west quarter of the center test (no. 1 on Plate XIX), among pre-Islamic debris 3.80 meters below the surface. These coins were stuck together but relatively lightly oxidized, and there was no trace of a container. The other group, field no. I–1–928, clearly constituted a hoard and comprised 33 Arab-Sasanian silver dirhems (catalogue nos. 103–134). All were issues of a single governor, 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh, and were struck at the same mint, Bishāpūr: five of the year 67 H., two of 68 H. and 26 of 70 H., i.e., 686–690 A.D. This hoard also was found in the center test, in the north-east quarter of the 20 × 20 meter square. The coins, partly stuck together and partly loose, were recovered from a pit, 9.27 meters below its mouth, which in turn was 2.35 meters below the surface.

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Persepolis Terrace

The few post-classical coins found on the Persepolis terrace and nearby (pp. 85–90), range in date from Sasanian to the 19th century and have no archaeological relevance. The five coins from the PT–3 excavations (1935 season) are of the Mongol and Muẓaffarid periods (14th century) and later, and all came from the partial excavation of the large cistern on the slopes of the Kūh-i Raḥmat just east of the Treasury.[15] The ten coins recovered in the 1937 excavations (PT–5) were stray finds in the debris north of the Apadana.[16] The dates range from Sasanian to autonomous Persian of the 18th or 19th century. Finally four coins (three ʿAbbāsid and one Mongol) were picked up at various points on the surface or among refuse during the final season of 1939 (PT–7).

Naqsh-i Rustam

During two seasons' work (1936 and 1938–1939) at the foot of the cliffs of Naqsh-i Rustam 73 coins were recovered, chronologically distributed as follows:

Persis	1
Sasanian	28
Arab-Sasanian	27
Post-reform Umayyad	3
ʿAbbāsid	8
Ilkhānid	1
Ilkhānid or successor	1
Muẓaffarid	2
Unidentifiable Islamic	2
	73

[15] See Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, p. 212; and cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, pp. 88–89.
[16] Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, pp. 4, 70–72.

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Of particular interest was a hoard of 36 Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian dirhems,[17] unearthed on the floor of what appears to have been a rather extensive building of the early Islamic period, about one meter below the surface in front of the rock tomb of Darius I (see Plate XXI). No container was preserved. The hoard consisted of 12 Sasanian and 24 Arab-Sasanian coins. Of the Sasanian two were of Hormizd IV (catalogue nos. 4 and 5), the earlier of which is dated 583 A.D.,[18] and ten of Khosrau II, ranging in date from 596 to 626 A.D. (nos. 4–9, 11–14, 16–17). Several governors are represented among the Arab-Sasanian specimens: one anonymous of the year 651/2 (no. 30), one of Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān of 672/3 (no. 33), one of ʿUbaydullāh b. Ziyād of 681/2 (no. 34), two of ʿAbdullāh b. Zubayr of the years 685/6 and 688/9 (nos. 31–32), 16 of ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydullāh of the years 686–690 (nos. 35–50), two of ʿAṭīyah b. al-Aswad of 692/3 and 693/4 (nos. 51–52), and one of Qaṭari b. al-Fujāʿah of 694/5 (no. 53). The Arab-Sasanian dates range therefore from 651–695, with the heaviest concentration between 685 and 690; and the over-all dates of the hoard are 583–695. It is interesting, but not surprising, to note that Sasanian dirhems, not counterstamped, appear to have circulated along with the Arab-Sasanian. In general appearance, of course, these coins are very similar and only the literate could have distinguished between a dirhem of Khosrau II and one of an Arab governor.

The distribution of mints in the hoard is of some interest. The coins of Hormizd IV and Khosrau II were struck at seven mints: Nihāvand (4), Rayy (2), Merv (2), Nahr-Tīrâ, Darabjird, Shīrajān (?) and Zaranj (1 each). Thus six dif-

[17] Cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, p. 98, and G. C. Miles, "King of Kings to Counter-Caliph," in *Archaeology*, 1948, pp. 126–128.

[18] The dates of the Sasanian coins of course are in regnal years, those of the Arab-Sasanian either in the Yezdigird or Hijrah eras, but in this summary all are reduced to the Christian calendar.

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ferent provinces are represented: Khurāsān, Sīstān, Kirmān, Fārs, Jibāl and Khūzistān (from east to west). The mints represented in the Arab-Sasanian portion of the hoard are the same in number but are geographically more concentrated: Bishāpūr (14), Kirmān (3), Darabjird (2), an uncertain mint vIšP etc. (2), Nahr-Tīrâ, Ardashīr-Khurrah, Baṣrah (1 each). The majority, therefore, are from the province of Fārs (17 specimens at least, or 19, if, as is probable, the uncertain mint is located in that province), and the rest from the neighboring provinces of Kirmān, Khūzistān and ʿIrāq.

Two unique and very interesting Arab-Sasanian bronzes (nos. 54 and 55) also came from the Naqsh-i Rustam excavations: a hybrid Byzantine Arab-Sasanian piece with a facing bearded head surmounted by a cross on the obverse and an M reverse accompanied by legible Pahlevi inscriptions (the name of Iṣṭakhr written out almost in full, and the word *apastān*); and an equally remarkable coin with a new type of bust combined with Kufic legends of post-reform type.

While the Sasanian, Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid coins from Naqsh-i Rustam are perhaps to be associated with settlements there, the post-ʿAbbāsid specimens, like all the Islamic coins from the Persepolis Terrace, have no real archaeological significance and are simply evidence of the visits of "tourists" throughout the ages at this spectacular site.

It will be noted that the catalogue is in three parts: Iṣṭakhr, pp. 19–84, Persepolis Terrace, pp. 85–90, Naqsh-i Rustam, pp. 91–107. In each section the arrangement is basically chronological, with sub-divisions, where appropriate, according to mints. For the convenience of the excavator and archaeologist whose interest is primarily in the provenience of each coin as evidence for the dating of levels or of objects, an Inventory of Field Catalogue numbers, in numerical order, is appended at the end of the numismatic catalogue (pp. 108–115). Opposite each field number is the

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catalogue number under which that coin is described. In numerous instances there is more than one specimen of a given type (e.g., nos. 344–363 are all specimens of a single issue of Iṣṭakhr, 140 H.); only the initial catalogue number of this series (344) is listed in this concordance.

Following each description in the numismatic catalogue are the field numbers of the relevant coins (I–1 = Iṣṭakhr, 1935; I–2 = Iṣṭakhr, 1937; PT–3, PT–5, PT–7 = Persepolis Terrace, 1935, 1937 and 1939, respectively; NR–1, NR–2 = Naqsh-i Rustam, 1936 and 1938–1939, respectively). This number is followed by the abbreviation for the metal, the diameter in millimeters, and the weight in grams. In many cases the weight was not recorded in the field, or even if recorded, is omitted here because of the fragmentary state of preservation. Frequently only a small fraction of the legends is preserved but it has been possible to assign the coin to a given issue because one or more particular characteristics are present. In some cases where there are only two or three specimens of a hitherto unpublished issue the transcription of the legends is composite: that is, the inscriptions have been reconstructed by piecing together complementary bits from each specimen.

The coins from the 1935 and 1936 excavations were originally catalogued at Persepolis by the writer. Those from the subsequent years were preliminarily recorded by Wilhelm Eilers. Approximately half of the coins are now the property of the Oriental Institute, the others of the Iranian Government, stored in the Archaeological Museum in Teheran. The writer's work was facilitated by the temporary deposit of all the former at the Museum of the American Numismatic Society and by photographs, taken in the field, of a large percentage of the coins now in the possession of the Iranian Government. A few of the latter, however, from the Iṣṭakhr excavations, were neither photographed nor described on field inventory cards because of their generally hopeless con-

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dition, and these are included statistically in the "unidentifiable" category (nos. 866–1046).

It remains only for me to thank Dr. Schmidt, under whom I worked for three happy years at Rayy and in Luristan in 1934–1936, for giving me the opportunity to study this interesting body of material and for waiting so patiently all these years for its publication.

New York
July 1958

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

Allotte de la Fuÿe—F.-M. Allotte de la Fuÿe, "Inventaire des monnaies trouvées à Suse pendant la campagne de fouilles 1925 to 1926," etc., in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, XX (1928).

Antioch—G. C. Miles, "Islamic Coins," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, Part One, pp. 109ff. (Princeton, 1948).

Ars Islamica—*Ars Islamica*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1934–1951.

Ars Orientalis—*Ars Orientalis*, Washington, D.C. and Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1954–.

Balādhuri—Aḥmad b. Yaḥyâ al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1866).

Berlin—H. Nützel, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*, I, *Die Münzen der östlichen Chalifen* (Berlin, 1898).

B.M. i–x—S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vols. i–x (London, 1875–1890).

B.M. Arab-Byzantine—John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins* (*A Catalogue of the Muḥammadan Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. II), London, 1956.

B.M. Arab-Sasanian—John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (*ibid.*, Vol. I), London, 1941.

B.M. Arabia etc.—G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (*Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*), London, 1922.

B.M. Shāhs of Persia—R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shâhs of Persia in the British Museum* (London, 1887).

EI—*Encyclopaedia of Islām* (1st ed. 1913–1938; 2nd ed. beginning 1954).

Fārsnāma—*The Fársnáma of Ibnu'l-Balkhí*, ed. G. le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, I (London, 1921).

Göbl—Robert Göbl, "Aufbau der Münzprägung," in F. Altheim und Ruth Stiehl, *Ein Asiatischer Staat* (Wiesbaden, 1954), pp. 51ff.

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Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam—*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, 'The Regions of the World,' A Persian Geography, 372 A.H.–982 A.D.*, transl. V. Minorsky, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, XI (London, 1937).

Le Strange—G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930).

Miles, *A brief Report*—G. C. Miles, "A brief Report on the Coins found in the Excavations at Iṣṭakhr, 1935 and 1937," in *Actes, Congrès International de Numismatique, Paris, 6–11 Juillet 1953* (Paris, 1957), pp. 491–496.

Miles, *Kirmān*—G. C. Miles, "Some new Light on the History of Kirmān in the First Century of the Hijrah," in press.

Miles, *Miḥrāb and ʿAnazah*—G. C. Miles, "Miḥrāb and ʿAnazah: A Study in early Islamic Iconography," in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1952), pp. 156–171.

Miles, *Museum Notes VII*—G. C. Miles, "Some Arab-Sasanian and related Coins," in *Museum Notes* (American Numismatic Society) VII (N.Y., 1957), pp. 187–209.

de Morgan—J. de Morgan, *Numismatique de la Perse Antique* (E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines, III, Monnaies orientales*, Tome I), Paris, 1933.

de Morgan, *Manuel*—J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique orientale* (ed. K. J. Basmadjian), I (Paris, 1923–1936).

NC—*Numismatic Chronicle* (London).

NHR—G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (American Numismatic Society *Numismatic Studies* No. 2), New York, 1938.

Paris—H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, *Khalifes orientaux* (Paris, 1887).

Paruck—F. D. J. Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins* (Bombay, 1924).

RIC—G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins* (American Numismatic Society *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 118), New York, 1950.

RN—*Revue Numismatique* (Paris).

Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*—Erich F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis and other Discoveries in the Homeland of the Achaemenians* (Oriental Institute Communications, No. 21, Chicago, 1939).

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Schmidt, *Persepolis*—Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I, Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. LXVIII, Chicago, 1953); *Persepolis II, Contents of the Treasury and other Discoveries* (Or. Inst. Publs., Vol. LXIX, Chicago, 1957).

Ṭabari—Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* (ed. de Goeje *et al.*), Leyden, 1879–1901.

Tiesenhausen—W. Tiesenhausen, *Moneti vostochnavo khalifata*, St. Petersbourg, 1873.

Unvala, *NC* 1937—J. M. Unvala, "Quelques monnaies arabes à légendes pehlevies et quelques autres monnaies bilingues pehlevie-arabes," in *NC* 1937, pp. 280–296.

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Walker, *Coins from Susa*—J. Walker, "Some early Arab and Byzantine-Sasanian Coins from Susa," in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1952), pp. 235–243.

Walker, *NC* 1952—J. Walker, "Some new Arab-Sassanian Coins," in *NC* 1952, pp. 106–110.

Welin, *Wāsiṭ*—Ulla S. Linder Welin, "Wāsiṭ, the Mint-Town," in *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1955–1956, IV, pp. 127–169.

Yāqūt—*Mu'jam al-Buldān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), Leipzig, 1866–1870.

Zambaur—E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Hannover, 1927).

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IṢṬAKHR EXCAVATIONS

I. MACEDONIA—ALEXANDER THE GREAT (POSTHUMOUS)

1. Alexander III. Ca. 310–300 B.C. Susa. Bronze.

Head of Herakles, r., wearing elephant skin.

Nike standing, holding wreath. At l., head of horned horse; at r., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

I-2-1564 Æ 17, 6.13. PLATE I

Cf. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Macedonia, Part* II (Copenhagen, 1943), no. 1065. For the horned horse symbol see E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* (ANS *Numismatic Studies*, No. 1, New York, 1938), pl. XXII.

II. PERSIS

Of the 15 coins of Persis ten (nos. 3–12) were found in one spot, GI 09, and form a definitely related group. The others were scattered finds. The chronological arrangement below is based largely on G. F. Hill's attributions in *B. M. Arabia etc.* Hill's preface, pp. clx–clxxxii, summarizes all the earlier literature and especially Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe's important article in *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 63–97. References also are made to de Morgan and to de Morgan, *Manuel*. G. F. Hill's *The Coinage of the Ancient Persians* in *Survey of Persian Art* (1938), I, pp. 402–403, IV, pl. 126, is brief and does not illustrate or discuss specifically the types represented here.

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2. Pakur, son of Oxathres? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Obol.

Bust of king, l., bearded; thick back hair; wearing diadem, torque and robe.

Triskeles. Around, illegible inscription.

I–1–894 Æ 11, 0.35. PLATE I

Cf. *B.M. Arabia etc.*, p. 229, no. 3, pl. XXXV, 3; de Morgan, p. 410, nos. 47, 48, pl. XXXII, 7, 8.

This coin belongs to Hill's Fourth Series, which he dates from the 1st century after Christ to about 224 A.D.; Oxathres is assigned by him to the 1st c. B.C. De Morgan (*Manuel*, p. 271) places Piruz I (= Pakur?) immediately after Oxathres (perhaps Gocithres of Isidore of Charax), and he dates the latter ca. 57–38 B.C.

3. Pakur? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Drachm.

Bust of king, l., bearded; thick back hair; wearing diadem, torque and robe with fringe of vertical stripes. Behind head, legend: 𐭯𐭪𐭧𐭥

As obverse, but legend, if any, effaced.

I–1–911a Æ 25, 3.85. PLATE I

This type (and cf. nos. 4–14, below) appears to be unpublished. The closest parallel perhaps is *B. M. Arabia etc.*, p. 229, no. 4, pl. XLVIII, 17. Cf. also de Morgan, pp. 410 to 411, nos. 49–50, pl. XXXII, 9–12, assigned to Piruz II, the second ruler after Oxathres (de Morgan, *Manuel*, p. 271). The inscription is undeciphered.

4-7. Pakur? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Hemidrachm.

Similar in style to no. 3, but of crude fabric, slightly scyphate, details obscure. No recognizable legends, except possible traces on no. 5.

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I–1–911b, c, d, e Æ 22, 21, 21, 23; 1.60, 1.00, 1.60, 1.25. PLATE I

Cf. no. 3, above, and *B. M. Arabia etc.*, p. 230, nos. 7–9, pl. XXXV, 5–6.

8-12. Pakur? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Obol.

Similar in style to nos. 4–7. No legends remain.

I–1–911f, g, h, i, j Æ 14, 14, 13, 14; 0.40, 0.50, 0.45, 0.70 (j is a small fragment). PLATE I

Cf. nos. 3–7, above, and *B. M. Arabia etc.*, p. 230, nos. 10–11, pl. XXXV, 7–8.

13. Pakur? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Drachm.

In general similar to nos. 3–12, but of somewhat superior fabric and evidently a different issue. On both obverse and reverse, behind the head, traces of legend. In front of chin, both obverse and reverse, letter Δ or A. Note fringe of robe, similar to no. 3.

I–1–914 Æ 19, 3.25. PLATE I

14. Kapat or Napat? Ca. late 1st c. A.D. Obol.

Bust of king, l., bearded; wearing tiara with neck piece.

Crude bust, l., bearded; wearing diadem. Around, traces of legend or simulated legend.

I–2–1528 Æ 8.5, 0.38. PLATE I

Cf. *B. M. Arabia etc.*, pp. 233–234, nos. 12–20 (hemidrachms), pl. XXXV, 20–25, and pl. XXXVI, 1–2 (obverse of the hemi-obol, p. 234, no. 21, pl. XXXVI, 3, is different); cf. also de Morgan, p. 412, pl. XXXIII, 1–13 (Napat, or de Morgan, *Manuel*, 4th king after Oxathres).

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15. Uncertain. 1st or 2nd c. A.D. Hemidrachm?

Bust of king, l., with short beard; wearing tiara with 3 rows of pellets and symbol ◡; diadem, torque and robe; behind head, triskeles.

"Formal representation of a double diadem with ties" (*B.M.*); around, bottoms of letters of legend(?).

I–1–907 Æ 13, 1.20. PLATE I

Cf. *B. M. Arabia etc.*, pp. 237–238, nos. 3–15, pl. XXXVI, 14–19, pl. XLVIII, 15; de Morgan, pp. 413–414, pl. XXXII, 22–26; de Morgan, *Manuel*, p. 284. These coins, related to the Kapat series, are attributed by de Morgan to "Prince Y," some time between ca. 38 B.C. and 200 A.D. De Morgan describes the reverse type as "figuration barbare du pyrée (?)."

16. Artaxerxes V of Persis = the Sasanian Artaxerxes I? Ca. 210–226 A.D.? Bronze.

Effaced.

Simple fire-altar with 2 steps, column, broad circular or rectangular basin, and flames. At r. and l., T-shaped stools or supports. Border of dots.

I–1–897 Æ 17, 2.00. PLATE I

Cf. de Morgan, pp. 418–419, pl. XXXIV, 24?; de Morgan, *Manuel*, p. 288, fig. 372.

III. ELYMAIS

17. Phraates, son of Orodes. Early 2nd c. A.D. Bronze.

Obscure and largely effaced.

I–2–1894 Æ 14.

Cf. *B. M. Arabia etc.*, type Ac, 2, p. 278, nos. 58ff., pl. XLI, 26.

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18-19. Obscure and largely effaced bronze, possibly Elymais; no. 19 has facing bust.

I–2–1788a Æ 14.
1974a Æ 14, 2.16. PLATE I

IV. SASANIAN

20. Bahram III. Ca. 293 A.D. Dirhem.

Bust of king, r., wearing moustache, curly beard, hair in flowing curls; crown surmounted by globe (countermarked with monogram?); diadem, earring and necklace. Border of dots. Around (beginning at 11:30 o'clock and running counter-clockwise):

Flaming altar with 3 plinths; ribbon, r. and l.; figure at either side facing altar, the one on l. wearing globe and holding sword(?), the one on r. wearing mural crown and holding staff. Legends: at r. [illegible], at l. [illegible] Border of dots.

[illegible]

I–2–1549 Æ 26. PLATE I

It has been customary of late to follow Vasmer and Herzfeld[19] in attributing the rare coins with crowns of this type to Narseh (first type) and to accept the argument that Bahram III struck no coins at all. A recent publication, however,[20] persuades me that the older attribution probably is

[19] R. Vasmer, "Sassanian Coins in the Hermitage," *NC* 1928, pp. 297–308; Ernst Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IX, 2 (1938), p. 112; *idem*, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins* (Calcutta, 1930), p. 7; cf. K. Erdmann, "Die Entwicklung der Sāsānidischen Krone," *Ars Islamica* XV–XVI (1951), p. 98; Göbl, pp. 105–106. Paruck objected to this view (*RN* 1930, pp. 1–6), and so also evidently R. Ghirshman in a private communication to Göbl (*op. cit.*, p. 106).

[20] Samuel Eilenberg, "A Sasanian silver Medallion of Varhrān III," *Ars Orientalis* II (1957), pp. 487–488.

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correct, and I have therefore assigned the present specimen to Bahram III. One distinctive feature here is to be noticed: the streamers usually present at the base of the globe surmounting the crown[21] are definitely lacking.

21. Khosrau I. Year 27 or 28 = 558 or 559 A.D. Nihāvand. Dirhem.

Usual type. Mint signature: لاسی

I–1–105 Æ 29 (fragmentary). PLATE I

22. Khosrau II. 590–628 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Bronze.

Usual type of Khosrau II's silver, but in bronze. Reverse, at r.: ٢٣

I–1–243b Æ 16.

23. Khosrau II. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Bronze.

Resembles no. 22, but reverse, at r.: ٢٣

I–1–339 Æ 17. PLATE II

24-28. Khosrau II. Mints and dates, if any, not preserved. Bronze.

Obscure coins with portrait resemblance and fragments of name legend.

I–1–325, 370, 635, 882, 918 (11–18mm.).

29. Khosrau II (probably). Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Obscure and crude obverse and reverse resembling Khosrau II type. Reverse, at r., ضط. Obverse and reverse enclosed by double or triple beaded borders.

I–1–220 Æ 17.

[21] Cf. Paruck, pl. VIII, 161–164. Two specimens in Bartholomaei's collection (*ibid.*, pl. V, 2 and 4) appear to lack these streamers, but one cannot tell whether they are actually lacking or whether the specimens were worn at this point and not visible to the plate engraver.

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30. Khosrau II (probably). Iṣṭakhr (?). Bronze.
Similar to no. 29, but mint signature obscure.

I–1–941 Æ 15. PLATE II

31-87. Unidentifiable Sasanian bronzes. 6th-early 7th c.
57 obscure and largely effaced coins, mostly not exceeding 17 mm. in diameter.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

V. SASANIAN OR ARAB-SASANIAN

88-101. Unidentifiable Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian bronzes. 6th–7th c.

14 obscure and largely effaced coins showing traces of usual late Sasanian types; some with possible 𐭩𐭲 mint signature, one (I–2–1785d) with possible 𐭥𐭱 (Bishāpūr) mint signature. Diameters: 16–22 mm.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

VI. ARAB-SASANIAN

A. SILVER

a) *ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydullāh*

1. Ardashīr-Khurrah

102. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydullāh. 68 H. = 687/8 A.D. TART = Ardashīr-Khurrah. Dirhem.

Usual bust. At r., name: 𐭥𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭲

Unpublished, but cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. 98–99, Ardashīr-Khurrah (normal spelling ART), 68, 69 and 70 H. Walker (*B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. cxxx) suggests that TART is the same as ART, "with an added prefix of uncertain value." The provenance of the present specimen is a small piece of evidence in support of this reasonable attribution. To Walker's list of individuals issuing coins at this mint should now be added Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'ah (Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, p. 203, no. 42) and 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh. For some comment on the town of Ardashīr-Khurrah, see nos. 317–318, below.

2. Bishāpūr

103-107.[22] The same. 67 H. = 686/7 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 99, no. 194, but without countermarks and ﷺ correct. Mint signature is Walker's no. 12b (which also *B. M.* no. 194 has, although the catalogue gives no. 12). Star l., crescent r. of flames.

I–1–928/1 Æ 31, 3.54. PLATE II
928/2 Æ 32, 3.47 (frg. lacking).
928/3 Æ 32, 3.27 (frg. lacking).
928/4 Æ 31, 3.50.
928/5 Æ 31, 2.20 (frgs. lacking).

108-108a. The same. 68 H. = 687/8 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 99, no. 195, but mint signature is no. 12b.

I–1–928/6 Æ 31, 3.38. PLATE II
928/7 Æ 33, 3.49. PLATE II

[22] The find-spot of nos. 103–134 has been described on p. 8.

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109-134. The same. 70 H. = 689/90 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 100, no. 198, but without countermarks. Mint signature no. 12b. Star l., crescent r. of flames.

I–1–928/8 Æ 31, 3.62. PLATE II
928/9 Æ 31, 3.50 (frg. lacking).
928/10 Æ 32, 2.28 (large frg. lacking).
928/11 Æ 30, 3.24 (frgs. lacking).
928/12 Æ 30, 3.32.
928/13 Æ 31, 3.80.
928/14 Æ 31, 3.40. PLATE II
I–1–928/15 Æ 31, 3.67. PLATE III
928/16 Æ 31, 3.61.
928/17 Æ 32, 3.18.
928/18 Æ 31, 3.59.
928/19 Æ 32, 3.27 (large frg. lacking).
928/20 Æ 31, 2.68 (frg. lacking).
928/21 Æ 30, 3.16 (frgs. lacking).
928/22 Æ 31, 3.30 (frgs. lacking).
928/23 Æ 32, 3.35 (frgs. lacking).
928/24 Æ 30, 2.27 (frg. lacking).
928/25 Æ 31, 3.02 (frg. lacking).
928/26 Æ 31, 3.41.
928/27 Æ 31, 3.35 (frg. lacking).
928/28 Æ 31, 3.54.
928/29 Æ 31, 3.43.
928/30 Æ 32, 3.57.
928/31 Æ 31, 3.55.
928/32 Æ 31, 3.77.
928/33 Æ 31, 3.47.

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B. BRONZE

1. *Iṣṭakhr*

135. ʿAbdullāh b. Zubayr? Ca. 63–72 H. = ca. 682–692 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, r., of Khosrau II type. At r.: [illegible]
Double beaded border. Only 1st quarter of margin preserved.

Usual fire-altar and attendants. At l.: coin lacking. At r.: [illegible]. Double beaded border. Only 1st quarter of margin preserved.

I–2–1790 Æ 27 (very fragmentary). PLATE III

This coin appears to be an issue in bronze of the dirhem type bearing ʿAbdullāh's name accompanied by the Pahlevi equivalent of *amīr al-muʾminīn*.[23]

136. ʿUbaydullāh b. Ziyād. 6X H. = 679–687 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Similar to the dirhems of this governor. Date: [illegible]

I–2–1653 Æ 22. PLATE III

The British Museum has a bronze of ʿUbaydullāh b. Ziyād, also struck at Iṣṭakhr, date 59 H. (?).[24] The flan of the latter specimen is somewhat larger, but the dies are of the same size as those with which the present coin was struck.

137. Al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah (?). Ca. 75–78 H. (?) = ca. 694–697 A.D. (?). Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, r., somewhat resembling that of Khosrau II. At l.: [illegible]. At r.: [illegible]

The space in the center may be occupied by a sec-

[23] Cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. 33ff. Note that there are Iṣṭakhr dirhems of 63 (?) — there are two probably of this date in the Yale University collection — and 66 H.

[24] *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 73, no. 108.

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MUHLUP (Muhallab ?). Beaded border, interrupted by winged headdress. In margin: ☪ at bottom and left (?). Traces of legend in 1st and 2nd quarters.

ond line of inscription, or perhaps the coin should be turned 90 degrees and the center taken as an altar, without attendants.

I–2–1727 Æ 20. PLATE III

The attribution is uncertain, but the name almost certainly is MUHLU(or A)P. Cf. the dirhems of al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah in *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. 113–116.

138-141. Al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah (?). Ca. 75–78 H. (?) = ca. 694–697 A.D. (?). Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Facing bust, bearded, robed, wearing *kūfiyah*. At l.: ? At r.: MUHALIP(-I). Beaded border.

Facing bust, wearing radiant or flaming headdress; ribbons, upward, at either side. At l.: (?) (AFZUT?); at r.: (ST). Beaded border.

I–1–149 Æ 16. PLATE III
885 Æ 17 (rev. effaced). PLATE III
I–2–1728 Æ 15. PLATE III
1735 Æ 17.

The best preserved obverse is I–2–1728; the reverse bust and especially the mint signature are well preserved on I–1–149; the obverse of I–1–885 is almost totally effaced.

These extraordinary coins are unpublished, but there is a certain amount of related or comparative material that it would be well to assemble here. The obverse bust bears a close resemblance to the head of the sword-girt Caliph on Arab-Byzantine coins.[25] Admittedly the hair here appears

[25] *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, pp. 22–43, plates VI–VIII. Walker dates those without the Caliph's name or title to ca. 670–685 (50–66 H.), those with titles to ca. 670–690 (50–71 H.), those with 'Abd al-Malik's name to 685 to 705 (65–86 H.).

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to be uncovered, but doubtless, as with the Arab-Byzantine coins, the *kūfiyah* is intended.[26] Hybrid Arab-Byzantine-Sasanian coins are not unknown (see the publications of Unvala,[27] Walker,[28] and cf. no. 143, below), but this appears to be the first occurrence of a bust of this type.

As for the reverse, there can be no doubt that this bust is derived from that on certain coins of Khosrau II, the bust with the flaming nimbus which Herzfeld identified as that of the Xᵛarāsān Xᵛarrah (Khurāsān Khurrah), "gloria orientis,"[29] and which also occurs on certain Hephthalite and related coins.[30] A similar bust appears on some small bronze coins found in the French excavations at Shāpūr, which Ghirshman has attributed to Khosrau II, allegedly bearing the dates 16, 20 and 34.[31] The obverse of these coins bears a bust with what appears to be a semi-conventional Sasanian headdress, but I should imagine that it is not out of the question that a close examination of better preserved specimens of this type might reveal some characteristics sug-

[26] See *ibid.*, pp. xxx, lxx and civ.

[27] *NC* 1937.

[28] Walker, *Coins from Susa*, pp. 238–242; Walker, *Bishāpūr*, p. 188 (no. XI); *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 25; *NC* 1952, p. 110, no. 4.

[29] Ernst Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IX (1938), pp. 147–158; cf. also *idem*, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London and New York, 1941), pp. 330–331.

[30] The literature on these Sasanian and Hephthalite coins with the goddess of the flaming nimbus is considerable: see especially the references in Herzfeld's article referred to above; J. Walker in *NC* 1935, pp. 242–245 (wherein most of the earlier literature is cited); R. B. Whitehead, "Multan: the House of Gold," *NC* 1937, pp. 60–72; R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* (Paris, 1948), pp. 41–49; cf. J. M. Unvala, "Hepthalite coins with Pahlevi Legends," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, IV (1942), pp. 37ff.

[31] R. Ghirshman, "Une monnaie de Zyad I. Abu Sofian [*sic*], Gouverneur du Fars," in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, II (Paris, 1939), pp. 697–701, fig. 2. There were apparently four of these coins. On the one illustrated the date is not legible (to me at least). Several corrections should be made in this article: among others, read *abi* for *Abu* throughout; on line 2 of p. 698, read *abīhi*; in footnote 1, p. 699, read 242 for 192.

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gesting a post-Sasanian attribution. In any case it is interesting to note that there is at least a precedent, if not a parallel, for the use of the reverse bust with the flaming nimbus on small bronze coins found not far from Iṣṭakhr and undoubtedly of local origin. From the same site comes another remarkably interesting bronze,[32] which Ghirshman attributes to Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān, bearing on the obverse a bust of Sasanian type but with a peculiar and distinctive headdress, and on the reverse a facing bust, "coiffée d'une haute tiare." The name *Ziyād* appears in Pahlevi on the obverse, and Ghirshman's supposition that this is Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān is doubtless correct. On the reverse there are two legends, which Ghirshman reads *šaš panča* (56) and "Bassorah?." In the plate I believe I can see SIHPNJA (53); but the mint signature I cannot read, unless perhaps it is BIŠ for Bishāpūr, which, in view of the fact that the coin is bronze and therefore in all probability of local origin, would be more likely than Baṣrah. If the date is indeed 53, it would well suit Ziyād, who struck dirhems at Bishāpūr in 50, 51, 52, 53 and 54.[33] But irrespective of the legends the chief point of interest is the curious facing bust of the reverse which, as Ghirshman points out, doubtless derives from the type of the divinity with the flaming nimbus. Also probably of the same derivation are nos. 160–161, below.

One other bronze issue undoubtedly struck in Fārs and exhibiting an obverse certainly related to the reverse of the coins under discussion should be mentioned in this connection. Herzfeld[34] writes: "In Alt-Shīrāz sind kleine kupferne obolen gefunden, aus der Zeit Khusraus II oder seiner nachfolger, wo auf der Vs. ein roh gezeichneter männlicher kopf mit dem wie gesträubte haare aussehenden

[32] *Loc. cit.*, fig. 1.

[33] See *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. xliv. Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, p. 698, did not have at his command all the data regarding Ziyād's coins and the probable date of his death.

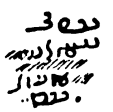
[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 147, footnote 2.

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flammennimbus des feuergottes erscheint, mit beischrift Dārāb oder Dāray, bei keiner geschichtlichen figur der zeit bekannter name; auf der Rs. ein menschenköpfiger buckelochse mit der krone Khusraus II, in ihrer letzten form, und beischrift āžāδ-bušaspān oder -būsaspān, der mittelpers. form des medischen gušnasp, gušasp, also wahrscheinlich ein satrapenname: Dārāb S. d. Āzādhbushasp, während die bilder den Feuergott *Ādhur* und das Gushnasp-feuer allegorisieren." I have seen photographs of the reverse of these coins, but not of the obverse. There is, of course, no evidence that this issue is to be dated after the Arab conquest, but at least we have here another example of the divinity with flaming headdress in south-west Persia.

142. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath(?). Ca. 80–85 H. = ca. 699–704 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, r., resembling that of Khosrau II. At l., downward, in Kufic: [العز]ة لله At r., downward, in Kufic: منصور. Beaded border, interrupted by headdress.



Beaded border.

I–1–927 Æ 21. PLATE III

Similar to Allotte de la Fuÿe, p. 75, fig. 5 = Unvala, *NC* 1937, p. 294, no. 29 = *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 173. Unvala read "..... dāt-pēroč i mansūr (?)," suggesting the name of a governor with that of his father and grandfather. The present specimen adds دده ق for the first line and the mint name for the last; it confirms Manṣūr for the 4th, and suggests AUMR... for the 2nd. Unvala's "Dātpērōč, son of Manṣūr," certainly does not seem very likely.

It would appear to me that there is little doubt that this interesting coin is related to dirhems of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.

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Muḥammad struck at Bishāpūr in 81 H.,[35] where the word *manṣūr* occurs both in Pahlevi and Kufic as it does here. I have therefore tentatively assigned the coin to this famous revolutionary. For other issues of his, see *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 117, nos. I.50 and Mar. 3.

143. ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath(?). Ca. 80–85 H. = ca. 699–704 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, r., resembling that of Khosrau II. Legends at l. largely obliterated, probably نحه (GDH). At r., downward, in Pahlevi: ... ههدرك Margin: effaced except ﷺ at l. Dotted border, interrupted by winged headdress.

Standing figure of Caliph, hands upraised in prayer. Sword in sheath diagonally across body, with handle at the figure's right. Hair arranged in curled locks at either side of head. At l., downward, in Pahlevi: ههلسودنـ. At r., downward, in Pahlevi: ددهه. Wide margin, blank. Figure and legends enclosed by dotted circle.

I–I–143 Æ 23, 3.58. PLATE III

Unfortunately the name on the obverse of this unpublished coin is incompletely preserved, but I propose to read it as MNSU[R]; therefore relating it to no. 142 and again suggesting Ibn al-Ashʿath as the issuer. The reverse is extraordinary but not without parallel: the standing figure of the Caliph "orans," in inspiration a Byzantine type, occurs on several Arab-Sasanian coins. In bronze we have a specimen struck at Susa (Shūsh), with a Pahlevi inscription on the obverse and a purely Arabic epigraphical reverse, which Unvala read, probably correctly, as بسم الله | سنة اربع | وثمنين (i.e.,

[35] Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, nos. 44–45.

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84 H.).[36] In silver there are several specimens of Bishr b. Marwān with three standing figures on the reverse, the central one facing and with hands upraised.[37] It is remarkable, however, that on neither of these types is the Caliph sword-girt as he is here: in the present specimen there is a closer affinity with the common standing Caliph Arab-Byzantine type and with the rare Arab-Sasanian imitations of the year 75 H.[38] The headdress, however, is quite distinctive: the top of the head appears to be covered with a cap, while the side hair (or is it a part of the covering?) is arranged in large volutes or buns.

As for the reverse Pahlevi legends, the second letter of the mint signature is unfortunately largely missing where the surface of the coin has flaked off, but enough of it is preserved to indicate that probably without any doubt the letter is a T, and therefore the mint is Iṣṭakhr. The word at the left is identical with the word at the left of the "Pegasus" on a *fals* of Shūsh,[39] which Unvala read *farrox^{v}īh*, "bonheur, auspiciousness,"[40] and is perhaps related to a word which occurs in the margin of several dirhems: 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād at Kirmān,[41] and with a different ending, al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah at Ardashīr-Khurrah,[42] and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf at Bishāpūr.[43]

[36] Cabinet des Médailles; see Unvala, *NC* 1937, p. 288, no. 10 = *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 83, fig. 17. Another specimen is in the Teheran Museum (Walker, *Coins from Susa*, p. 240, no. 7 = *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 83, no. Teh. 4).

[37] Walker, *NC* 1952, pp. 106–107, nos. 1 and 2; Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, pp. 201–202, no. 40.

[38] *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 25, and Walker, *NC* 1952, p. 110, no. 4; cf. Miles, *Miḥrāb and 'Anazah*, p. 171, pl. XXVIII, no. 5.

[39] Unvala, *NC* 1937, p. 292, no. 21.

[40] Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (Uppsala, 1928–1931), I, p. 58, line 5, II, p. 71, *frāx^{u}īh*, "Gedeihen, Wohlstand, Glück, Segen."

[41] *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 66, no. 97.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 113, no. ANS. 15, and p. 116, no. ANS. 16.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 119, no. Th. 16.

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144. Unidentified governor. Ca. 60–90 H. = ca. 679–709 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, r., type of Khosrau II. At l.: ? At r.: . Beaded border. In margin preserved at r. In 2nd quarter: بسم الله.

Crude fire-altar and attendants. At l.: ... At r.: ... Beaded border. In margin preserved at bottom.

I-2-1579 Æ 15. PLATE III

The only known governor whose name begins with "T" who struck dirhems of Arab-Sasanian type was Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdullāh; but I cannot recognize this name here.

145. Unidentified governor or anonymous. Ca. 60–90 H. = 679–709 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Crude bust, r., type of Khosrau II. No legends visible. Border of dots. In margin preserved at r. and below.

Fire-altar with very crudely executed attendants at each side. At l.: . At r.: . Border of dots. In margin: four times. In 1st quarter: صاد possibly for واف.

I-2-1596 Æ 19.

146-147. Unidentified governor or anonymous. Ca. 60–90 H. = ca. 679–709 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Traces of bust, r. (?). At l.: ? At r.: traces of Pahlevi legend. Single beaded border.

Possible fire-altar and attendants, obliterated by fragmentary state of coin and adhering bit of oxide. Above altar (?): . At l., downward, .. . At r.: STKHR. Single beaded border.

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I–1–63a Æ 17. PLATE III
166 Æ 17.

This issue is assigned to the Arab period for two reasons. The cross on the reverse doubtless came into the repertory of Arab-Sasanian coinage through the influence of the Arab-Byzantine. For parallels see Walker, *Coins from Susa*, and a specimen from Naqsh-i Rustam, no. 54, p. 101, below. The latter coin, as well as the present issue, exhibits another characteristic that indicates a post-conquest dating: the remarkable fact that the mint name is written out in full.

148-149. Anonymous. Ca. 80–100 H. = ca. 699–719 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, l., resembling that of Khosrau II; crown extends into margin and interrupts border. At l., downward and retrograde, in Pahlevi: 𐭫𐭠𐭥 (for 𐭫𐭠𐭥𐭧 RVBAK = *ravāk*, "current"). No legend at r.? Linear border.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له
فعط

Beaded border.

I–2–1578 Æ 21. PLATE III
1991 Æ 18. PLATE III

No. 149 shows traces only of the obverse legend, and the mint signature on the reverse is effaced. It will be noted that the entire obverse is retrograde (not only the Pahlevi legend), for the bust faces left, the opposite of the universal Sasanian numismatic custom. For the word *ravāk*, see *NHR*, p. 11, and for other occurrences cf. Unvala, *NC* 1937, *passim*, and Walker, *Coins from Susa*, pp. 236, 240 and 241. I have extended the probable terminal date of these issues to 100 H. because of the developed reverse post-reform legends.

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150. Anonymous. Ca. 80–110 H. = ca. 699–729 A.D. Iṣṭakhr? Bronze.

Obscure bust? No legend preserved.

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك .....
.....

I–1–938a Æ 20.

This very badly preserved and obscure coin is attributed to Iṣṭakhr by analogy with no. 148.

2. *Uncertain Mints*

151-152. Uncertain governor. Ca. 60–80 H. = 679–699 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Similar to the usual Arab-Sasanian dirhems, mint and date effaced. بسم الله [.] in obverse margin.

I–1–511 Æ (disintegrated).
909 Æ 27 (fragmentary).

153. Anonymous. Ca. 60–80 H. = 679–699 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Bust r., resembling that of Khosrau II. At l.: ٩٠ At r.: ٩٠. Double beaded border. In margin: at bottom ٠٠٠٠. Traces at r.

Traces of fire-altar and attendants? Single beaded border. Possible ٩٠ in margin, 2nd quarter.

I–2–1919 Æ 21. PLATE III

154. Al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah (?). Ca. 75–78 H. (?) = ca. 694–697 A.D. (?). No mint name? Bronze.

Crude bust, r., of type of Khosrau II, but lacking

Crude, squat fire-altar and attendants. Evidently

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winged crown. At r., downward, in Pahlevi: ﻫ ﺳﻠﻴﻪ. Beaded border.

no legends. Beaded border. In margin: pellet (?) at top and r. preserved.

I–1–193 Æ 16. PLATE III

The attribution is very uncertain and is suggested only on the basis of a possible reading of the name on the obverse as "Muhallab." Cf. nos. 138–141, above.

155. The Caliph al-Walīd I (?). 86–96 H. = 705–715 A.D. No mint name. Bronze.

Very crude bust of Sasanian style, r. Type of headdress (or crown?) indeterminate. At l., downward, in Kufic: الوليد. At r., downward: ﺍﺳﺎﺭﻣﺪ. Double beaded border.

لا اله
الا الله
وحده
Triple beaded border.

I–1–281 Æ 21. PLATE III

156. The same.

Similar to no. 155, but at l.: .....الو. At r.: ﻣﺎﺳﺎﺭﺑﻪ.

I–2–1542 Æ 17. PLATE IV

157-158. The same.

Probably similar to no. 155, but fragmentary and largely obliterated.

I–1–322 Æ 20. PLATE IV
910 Æ 21.

159. The same.

Similar to no. 155, but headdress consists of a simple rounded cap or turban. At l., downward, in Kufic: الوليد. At r., downward: ﺍﻟﻠﺮﻫﻮ(?).

I–2–1948 Æ 19. PLATE IV

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I have attributed these remarkable and hitherto unpublished coins (nos. 155–159) to the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd on several grounds. The style, hybrid Sasanian and post-reform Umayyad, would suit al-Walīd's dates.[44] No governor or revolutionary by this name in Persia at this time is known. The headdress of no. 159 suggests the possibility that the die-engraver is attempting to represent the Caliph.[45] The inscription to the right of the bust is very puzzling. Is it in Kufic or in Pahlevi? On no. 155 it might be an attempt at Kufic, but on no. 156, where the end of the legend appears to be different, it looks more like Pahlevi. On no. 159 it again looks more like Kufic. With great reserve I suggest the possibility that the die-engraver was trying to write *amīr al-mu'minīn* in abbreviated form.

160-161. Uncertain governor. Ca. 50–80 H. = ca. 670 to 699 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Bust, r. Crown consists of 5–7 coils, tapering to a point at top. Small wings at r. and l. of center of crown. Legends effaced. Single beaded border.

Traces of fire-altar and attendants. Single beaded border.

I–1–81 Æ 19. PLATE IV
I–2–1795b Æ 14+ (fragmentary). PLATE IV

This type might be pre-Arab, but the curious bust and headdress suggest another Arab experiment of the same general nature as that on the reverse of the coin of Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān from the Shāpūr excavations, discussed under nos. 138–141, above.

[44] To be sure, there are hybrids of this sort at a slightly later date: cf. NR no. 55, p. 102, below.
[45] See my observations in *Miḥrāb and 'Anazah*, pp. 169–170, with reference to the headdress of the figure on a remarkable transitional dirhem.

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162. Anonymous, or uncertain governor. Ca. 50–80 H. = 670–699 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Very crude bust, r., with simple rounded headdress, no wings. Three streamers behind neck. At l.: ? At r.: ? Single beaded border.

Traces of facing bust with simple headdress. Lower part of bust obliterated by a lump of oxidization. Traces of legends in Pahlevi, r. and l.? Single beaded border.

I–2–1793a Æ 17. PLATE IV

Here again the unusual busts indicate an Arab-Sasanian dating.

163. Yazīd b. .....? Ca. 60–80 H. = ca. 679–699 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Very crude facing bust(?), bearded. At l., downward, in Kufic: يزيد...(?). At r., downward, in Pahlevi (?): . Beaded border.

3-line inscription in Pahlevi: 

Beaded border.

I–2–1535a Æ 25 (roughly rectangular). PLATE IV

The figure on the obverse when inverted appears to present a fern-like plant in a pot; but the direction of the apparently Kufic legend at the left and the apparently Pahlevi legend at the right suggests that the figure is rather a crude bearded bust, as described.

164. Uncertain governor. Ca. 60–85 H. = ca. 679–704 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.[46]

[46] The existence of this specimen was mentioned by Unvala, *NC* 1937, pp. 281, 283.

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Winged horse, walking to r. Above: 𐭥𐭱𐭭 ? Beneath: 𐭩𐭮𐭬. Beaded border.

Largely obliterated, probably fire-altar and attendants, with legends r. and l. Beaded border.

I–1–321 Æ 25. PLATE IV

It is just possible that the inscription on the obverse is to be read MNSUR, in which case the coin may be related to those which I have tentatively assigned to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath (cf. nos. 142–143, above). On the other hand, if this hesitantly proposed reading is incorrect the coin may well not be Arab-Sasanian at all, as there is nothing else in the preserved epigraphy to distinguish it from a straight Sasanian issue; in which case the specimen should be dated considerably earlier. But a comparable type, in all probability of Arab date, supports the post-conquest attribution. Among the coins found by the French Mission at Susa was one with a similar "Pegasus" on the obverse, accompanied by Pahlevi legends which Mr. Unvala read *farroxᵛīh* (cf. no. 143, above) and *pēročīh*, "victoire."[47] The reverse, however, bears a four-line Pahlevi legend giving the name of the governor (?), the word *framūt* (the equivalent of the Arabic *ʿamara*) and *Šūš rowāk*, i.e., "current in Susa." The latter phrase definitely indicates a date within the Arab period.[48] A similar specimen found at Persepolis is in the Cabinet des Médailles.[49] Two other "Pegasus" specimens, one of them bearing the mint signature BIŠ (Bishāpūr), from the excavations at Bishāpūr, have been described but not illustrated.[50] As Unvala remarks, "Le Pégase est sans doute emprunté aux cachets sassanides, sur lesquels il figure très souvent. Pourtant il est très probable

[47] Unvala, *NC* 1937, p. 292, no. 21.
[48] Cf. nos. 148–149, above, and the comment there.
[49] Unvala, *NC* 1937, p. 281 and p. 292, no. 22.
[50] Walker, *Bishāpūr*, p. 188, nos. XII–XIII.

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qu'il représente sur ces monnaies musulmanes le Boraq du Prophète."[51]

165-166. Uncertain governor. Ca. 60–85 H. = ca. 679 to 704 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Bust, r., with winged headdress of type of Khosrau II. Traces of legend at r. Double beaded border interrupted by headdress.

Traces of 3-line Arabic(?) legend. Triple beaded border.

I–2–1526a Æ 15. 1835 Æ 16. PLATE IV

167-171. Uncertain governors. Ca. 60–85 H. = ca. 679 to 704 A.D. Mints effaced. Bronze.

Five specimens with obverses bearing bust with Khosrau II type headdress and reverse of fire-altar and attendants type. Legends effaced. Fabric suggests Arab-Sasanian attributions.

I–2–1755, 1772e, 1785a (PLATE IV), 1786 (PLATE IV), 1793b (PLATE IV) Æ 14–20 mm.

172. Anonymous? Ca. 80–100 H. = ca. 699–719 A.D. Uncertain mint. Bronze.

Traces of a fern or tree(?) in a square.

Very crude characters:

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: traces of large lettering, between inner dotted and outer linear border.

I–2–1520/56 Æ 20. PLATE IV

[51] Unvala, *NC* 1937, p. 283.

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3. *No Mint Name*

173-175. Anonymous. Ca. 90–120 H. = ca. 708–738 A.D. No mint name. Bronze.

لا اله
الا الله
وحده

Double linear border.

دده قـ
محمد
رسول
الله

Double linear border.

I–1–150 Æ 18. PLATE IV
626 Æ 19. PLATE IV
I–2–1940 Æ 16. PLATE IV

This type bears conventional post-reform Arabic legends with the addition of the Pahlevi word AFD, "excellent," above the reverse area. The occurrence of isolated Pahlevi words on late Umayyad coins from Persian mints is not uncommon.[52]

VII. BYZANTINE

176. Tiberius II. Year 7 = 581 A.D. Antioch. Follis.

Similar to *B. M. Cat. Imp. Byz. Coins*, I, p. 117, no. 98; obverse effaced.

I–1–245 Æ 29, 8.80. PLATE V

177. Heraclius. Ca. 610–613 A.D. Constantinople. Solidus.

Similar to *B. M. Cat. Imp. Byz. Coins*, I, p. 185, nos. 3–7.

I–2–249 Æ 21, 4.38 (suspension ring). PLATE V

The fact that the coin is ringed for suspension as jewelry suggests that it is an intrusion from a considerably later date. The excavation plot record, incidentally, notes that the coin came from refuse in HE 02, and described the find-spot as a "mouse hole."

[52] Cf. *NHR*, pp. 11–12; Unvala, *NC* 1937, pp. 293–296.

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VIII. POST-REFORM UMAYYAD

A. Iṣṭakhr

178. Anonymous. 104 H. = 722/3 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

بسم الله
ضرب هذا
الفلس .. صطخر
سنة اربع وه . . .

Linear border.

امر الله
بالوفا
والعدل

Double beaded border with annulets between.

I–1–252a Æ 20. PLATE V

179. Similar to no. 178, but ⁘ beneath obverse area.

I–2–1520/62 Æ 20. PLATE V

180-184. Salm b. al-Musayyib. Ca. 129 H. = 746/7 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

O
محمد
رسول
الله

Triple linear border.

لا اله
الا الله
وحده

Margin: بسم الله مما امر به الامير سلم بن المسيب باصطخر

Margin enclosed by linear borders.

I–1–100 Æ 19.
114 Æ 19. PLATE V
170 Æ 20.
242 Æ 19.
242a Æ 19. PLATE V

These unpublished coins are interesting in that they fix the correct name of Salm b. al-Musayyib, *ʿāmil* or prefect of Shīrāz on behalf of ʿAbdullāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (governor of Baṣrah and Kūfah) in 129 H. Ṭabari refers to

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him as Muslim b. al-Musayyib,[53] and again in another connection he calls him Muslim when speaking of his house in Kūfah;[54] but in two other passages he refers to the same house (dār al-mukhtār) as being the one "now known" (at the time of his primary witness) as that of Salm b. al-Musayyib.[55] It is therefore clear that Salm and Muslim are the same person, and our coins establish the fact that Salm is the correct name. Also of interest is the small detail that the *'āmil* in Shīrāz was at this time the administrative official of Iṣṭakhr.

185-189. Anonymous. 130 H. = 747/8 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له

Triple linear border; four pairs of annulets; outer thick linear border.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس باصطخر سنة ثلثين ومئة

Margin between linear or beaded borders, broken by four pairs of annulets.

I–1–407 Æ 22, 1.90+.
654 Æ 20, 1.86+.
I–2–1527 Æ 20. PLATE V
1804 Æ 20. PLATE V
1838b Æ 21. PLATE V

B. Sābūr

190. Anonymous. 81 H. (?) = 700/01 A.D. (?). Sābūr (?). Dirhem.

[53] Ṭabari II, p. 1977: مسلم بن المسيّب وهو بشيراز عامل لابن عمر Cf. Zambaur, p. 46.
[54] *Ibid.* II, p. 237.
[55] *Ibid.* II, pp. 520, 533.

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لا اله لا (*sic*)
الله وحد (*sic*)
لا شريك له

Conventional legends.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم
سابور (؟) سنة احدى (؟) وثمنين(؟)

I–1–903 Æ 26, 1.90. PLATE V

The obverse is very crude and almost illegible; the attribution is therefore doubtful. The coin appears to be the product of a provincial and inexperienced die-cutter. Dirhems of Sābūr of the same date with the digit spelled وحد are known.[56]

191-192. Anonymous. Date if any effaced, ca. 100–132 H. = ca. 718–750 A.D. Sābūr. Fals.

امر الله با
لوفا والعدل
بركة

محمد ر
سول الله
سابور

Margin: traces of legend. Margin enclosed by linear borders.

Double or triple linear border.

I–2–1739 Æ 19. PLATE V
1803 Æ 20. PLATE V

Cf. Walker, *Bishāpūr*, p. 189, no. XIV, which is probably the same as these, although both the drawing and the description of the specimen from Bishāpūr indicate that the obverse has no marginal legend, while here it is clear that one was present. Also Walker reads الوفا instead of the usual بالوفا, but I would not say that on the present specimen this is the case. Walker's drawing shows the pyramids of pellets inverted and also a pyramid of pellets above the reverse; on the present specimen this part of the coin is damaged.

[56] *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 156, no. P.83.

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C. Shīrāz

193. Anonymous. 130 H. = 747/8 A.D. Shīrāz. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Triple beaded border, uncertain number of annulets.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم‌الله ضرب بشيراز سنة ثلثين ومئة

Linear border between area and margin; outer double beaded border. Uncertain number of annulets.

I–2–1954 Æ 22. PLATE V

This unique coin is of uncommon interest. Not only is it the first known Umayyad issue bearing the mint name Shīrāz, but, so far as I know, it antedates by 140 years the earliest hitherto recorded coin of this mint (designated by this name), a dirhem of the Abu-Dulafid Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.[57] Another unpublished issue of Shīrāz from the excavations is dated 192 (see nos. 522–552, below); and a few years after this latter date the mint becomes active under the name of Fārs (or Fāris), the name of the province of which Shīrāz was the capital.[58] Theoretically Shīrāz was founded by the Arabs on the site of their encampment at the time of the investment of Iṣṭakhr,[59] but in all probability the locality had been occupied by the Sasanians before the conquest.[60] However, the relatively late date of the commencement of the mint's activity would suggest that the town, if it existed, was not of administrative importance in the early 7th century.

[57] C. J. Tornberg, *Numi Cufici* (Uppsala, 1848), p. 98, no. 416.
[58] In 203 H.; see the summary of the activities of the Fārs mint in G. C. Miles, "A Ninth Century Hoard of Dirhems found at Susa," in a volume of the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, now in press.
[59] Le Strange, p. 249. [60] Cl. Huart, s.v. Shīrāz in *EI*.

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D. Wāsiṭ

194. Anonymous. 93 H. = 711/12 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Dirhem.
Similar to *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 193, no. 536.

I–2–1742b Æ 26. PLATE V

195. Anonymous. 114 H. = 732/3 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Dirhem.
Similar to *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 196, no. 562.

I–2–1751 Æ 27 (fragmentary). PLATE V

196-197. Anonymous. 116 H. = 734/5 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له

Five annulets ⊙ between inner double beaded and outer linear borders.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بواسط سنة ست عشرة ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I–2–1518 Æ 21. PLATE VI
1619 Æ 21.

Cf. *Berlin*, no. 2047, and *Paris*, no. 1520, with 3 annulets (Welin, *Wāsiṭ*, p. 154).

198. Anonymous. 121 H. = 738/9 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Dirhem.
Similar to *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 198, no. 571.

I–2–1725 Æ 26. PLATE VI

199-200. Anonymous? 124 H. = 741/2 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Fals.

Effaced.

Double linear border, 2 annulets.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب ... الفلس بواسط سنة اربع وعشرين ومئة

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Margin between inner linear border and outer border consisting of inner thin and outer thick circles, with 5 (?) annulets.

I–1–117 Æ 21, 270+. PLATE VI
I–2–1968 Æ 20. PLATE VI

This appears to be unpublished; at least there is no specimen in the principal catalogues, nor in Welin, *Wāsiṭ*. Cf. NR no. 58, p. 103, below, with obverse preserved.

201. Anonymous? 126 H. = 743/4 A.D. Wāsiṭ (?). Fals.

Effaced.

محمد
رسول
الله
?

Margin: ... بسم الله ضرب هذا
بواسط (؟) ... ست وعشرين ومئة

I–2–1651a Æ 20.

If the mint name is correctly read this issue also appears to be unpublished.

E. No Mint Name

202-229. Anonymous. No date. Ca. 90–120 H. = ca. 708–738 A.D. No mint name. Fals.

لا اله
الا الله
وحده

محمد
رسول
الله

Single linear, single beaded or double beaded borders.

Borders as obverse.

Diameters range between 19 and 21 mm.

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I–1–168 (PLATE VI), 230, 295, 319, 394, 575, 660, 886 (PLATE VI), 890, 916.
I–2–1575 (PLATE VI), 1594 (PLATE VI), 1736b, 1738b, 1753, 1765 (PLATE VI), 1769c, 1777, 1782 (PLATE VI), 1805a, 1810 (PLATE VI), 1812, 1854, 1859a, 1876c, 1906, 1965a, 1980b.

Most of these are doubtless from Iṣṭakhr and nearby mints in Fārs.

230. Anonymous. No date. Ca. 90–120 H. = ca. 708–738 A.D. No mint name. Fals.

Similar to nos. 202–229, but obverse:

لا اله ا
لا الله
وحده

I–2–1547a Æ 20. PLATE VI

231-235. Anonymous. No date. Ca. 90–120 H. = ca. 708–738 A.D. No mint name. Fals.

Obverse as nos. 202–229.
Beaded border.

جائز
محمد
رسول
الله
Beaded border.

I–2–1536b Æ 18. PLATE VI
1808b Æ 19. PLATE VI
1841 Æ 18.
1970 Æ 17.
1973b Æ 18. PLATE VI

The word جائز, "current," occurs on many Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid *fulūs*, beginning with the earliest Arab-Byzantine bronze;[61] and also as a countermark on at least one Arab-Sasanian dirhem.[62]

[61] See *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, index.
[62] *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 96, no. 192.

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F. Mint Effaced

236. Mint and date, if any, effaced. Ca. 90–132 H. = ca. 708–750 A.D. Fals.

.....	Effaced.
لوفا و[الع]دل	Triple beaded border.
بر كة[؟]	

Traces of marginal legend between beaded borders.

I–2–1934 Æ 21.

237-255. Unidentifiable post-reform Umayyad bronze coins. Ca. 80–132 H. = ca. 699–750 A.D. *Fulūs*.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

IX. ʿABBĀSID PARTISANS

256-257. Abu-Muslim. Date effaced. Ca. 127–132 H. = ca. 744–750 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

لا اله	محمد
الا الله	رسرل
وحده	الله
Margin: ...كم عليه اجرا الا	Margin: .... ابو مس.....
المودة القر	Margin between linear borders.
(Qur'ān XLII, 22)	

Margin between linear borders.

I–2–1935 Æ 22. PLATE VII

1938 Æ 20, 1.93. PLATE VII

For a discussion of these and related revolutionary coins struck at various mints in both western Persia and Khurāsān, see *NHR*, pp. 15–17, and the literature cited there; and Dominique Sourdel, *Inventaire des monnaies musulmanes anciennes du Musée de Caboul* (Damascus, 1953), pp. 5–9,

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publishing a Khārijite issue of Tanbūk (?), 133 H. Among other things Sourdel makes a proper distinction between Khārijite and ʿAbbāsid partisan issues, which I had confused in *NHR*.

Cf. also no. 504, below.

X. UMAYYAD OR ʿABBĀSID

258-315. Unidentifiable post-reform Umayyad or early ʿAbbāsid bronze coins. Ca. 80–140 H. = ca. 699–758 A.D. *Fulūs*.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

XI. ʿABBĀSID

A. Arrajān

316. Uncertain governor. 180 or 18x H. = 796/7 or 797–805 A.D. Arrajān. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Outer linear border.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin between beaded borders.

I–2–1780d Æ 22, 4.05. PLATE VII

It is just possible that the letter و precedes the decade of the date, in which case there is also a digit, but there is very little space for it.

The earliest recorded coin of Arrajān, so far as I know, is a dirhem of the year 187 H.[63] The town was the capital of the district of the same name, the westernmost of the five *kūrahs* of Fārs.

[63] P. Casanova, *Inventaire sommaire de la collection des monnaies musulmanes de S. A. la Princesse Ismaïl* (Paris, 1896), no. 437.

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B. Ardashīr-Khurrah

317-318. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAli. 145 H. = 762/3 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس باردشير خرة سنة خمس واربعين ومئة

Outer linear border.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: مما امربه الامير اسمعيل بن على اكرمه الله

Outer linear border.

I–2–1693f Æ 21, 2.61+. PLATE VII
1731f Æ 22, 2.84+. PLATE VII

The style of lettering resembles that of contemporary dinars.

Ismāʿīl b. ʿAli served in various capacities in Persia and ʿIrāq: governor of Fārs in 132, prefect of al-Ahwāz in 133, of Mosul in the same year and in 134, 135 and 138, of al-Baṣrah in 143, and again governor of Fārs in 145, the year in which these coins were struck.[64] Other coins of his were issued in the latter year at Iṣṭakhr (see nos. 364–369, below); and we know of still other *fulūs* of his struck at al-Baṣrah in 143,[65] and without mint name or date.[66]

Ardashīr-Khurrah was both the name of one of the five *kūrahs* of Fārs and of the chief town of the district (before Shīrāz became the capital), originally known as Fīrūzābād, then as Jūr (Persian Gōr) and again, from Būyid times onward, as Fīrūzābād.[67] Designated by the Pahlevi mint signature ART it was an active mint in Arab-Sasanian times,[68] and post-reform dirhems were struck here from 80 until

[64] Ṭabari III, pp. 72–75, 81, 84, 123, 142, 301.
[65] *Paris*, no. 1560.
[66] *Paris*, nos. 1648–9; *Berlin*, nos. 2243–6.
[67] Le Strange, pp. 255–256; Cl. Huart, s.v. Fīrūz-Ābād in *EI*.
[68] *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. cviii–cix, etc.

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99 H.[69] The present coins appear to be the first published bronze issue of the mint. There is, however, an unpublished fals of the year 134 in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society. For other issues of Ardashīr-Khurrah, in some instances specifically named Jūr, see nos. 319–336, below; and re-named Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs, no. 581–609.

319-322. The Caliph al-Mahdi and Rabīʿ. 167 H. = 783/4 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له
*

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس باردشير خرة سنة سبع وستين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

o o o
الخليفة
المهدى محمد
امير المؤمنين
ربيع

Beaded border. The three annulets at the top of the area may actually belong to the marginal border.

I–1–364 Æ 17, 1.73+.
I–2–1543 Æ 17. PLATE VII
1783 Æ 17. PLATE VII
1799 Æ 17, 1.71+. PLATE VII

323. Similar to nos. 319–322, but obverse:

الا
لا اله
الله وحده لا
etc.

I–2–1561 Æ 17. PLATE VII

Rabīʿ (beneath the reverse area) is doubtless abu'-Faḍl al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus b. ʿAbdullāh, a public servant who filled various offices under four Caliphs. He was appointed *ḥājib* and later vizier by al-Manṣūr; and during al-Mahdi's reign

[69] *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, pp. 107–109.

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he again performed both these functions.[70] Our coins would establish the fact that he was vizier in 167 H. Cf. also nos. 391–477, below, where al-Rabīʿ's name occurs on coins of Iṣṭakhr of the same date.

324-325. Similar to nos. 319–322, but:

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له
جور

Reverse has chain border.

I–2–1589 Æ 18, 1.69. PLATE VII
1729b Æ 16. PLATE VII

326. Similar to nos. 324–325, but the reverse retrograde.

I–2–1975 Æ 17. PLATE VII

Of particular interest is the occurrence of the name Jūr (see above, p. 53) beneath the obverse. The implication would be that the name Ardashīr-Khurrah in the margin was taken to mean the district,[71] and that on these coins the specific mint is named. Six years earlier the name Jūr occurs on some coins bearing the district name Kūrat al-Mahdiyah min Fārs (nos. 581–609, below), but otherwise the mint name is unknown to Islamic numismatics.

327-336. Muḥammad [b. Yaḥyâ] Barmaki. 182 H. = 798/9 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

لا اله الا
لله وحده لا
شريك له
محمد

محمد
رسول
الله
برمكي

[70] References to all the pertinent literature are given by A. S. Atiya in *EI*, s.v. al-Rabīʿ. Zambaur (*Manuel*, p. 6) gives the date of his second vizirate as ca. 166, although Atiya says he never was vizier under al-Mahdi.

[71] Cf. other names of provinces or districts on Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid coins, such as Adharbayjān, Arrān, Irmīnīyah (Armenia), Sijistān, Ṭabaristān, Filāsṭīn, etc.

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Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس باردشير خرة سنة اثنين وثمنين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I–1–895 Æ 19, 2.38.
I–2–1520/35 Æ 19, 2.20.
1520/50 Æ 20, 2.24. PLATE VII
1639 Æ 19, 2.39.
1641c Æ 18.
1661 Æ 17. PLATE VII

Margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33. Margin between linear borders.

I–2–1673b Æ 19. PLATE VII
1762b Æ 19. PLATE VII
1864c Æ 19, 1.94+. PLATE VII
1989a Æ 19. PLATE VII

It is evident that the words beneath the obverse and reverse areas are to be read together, because on coins of Iṣṭakhr and Fasā struck in the same year (nos. 478–489 and 562–580, below), the name Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ is written out in full in the margin together with "Barmaki" beneath the reverse. The governor therefore must be Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ b. Khālid the Barmacide, who was *ḥājib* at the court until 179 H.[72] Other coins of his were struck in 183 H. at Sābūr (see nos. 510–519, below). This Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ was of course a different individual from the man by the same name (but whose ancestor was al-Ḥārith b. Shakhīr) who governed al-Rayy in 179 and 180.[73]

This is the only bronze issue of Ardashīr-Khurrah of which there has been a previous publication.[74]

337-338. Anonymous. 1x5 H. = ca. 775–800 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له

محمد رسول
الله صلى الله
عليه و سلم

[72] W. Barthold, s.v. Barmakides, *EI*; cf. Zambaur, p. 10.
[73] Ṭabari III, p. 645; cf. *NHR*, pp. 67–68.
[74] Tiesenhausen, no. 1336. The word beneath the reverse was not legible on this specimen, but doubtless the issue is the same.

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Margin: .... هذا لفلس باردشير خرة سنة خمس و .....

Outer border consisting of 5 (?) annulets between linear circles.

I–2–1678 Æ 17.
1955 Æ 16.

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

Margin between linear borders.

PLATE VII

339. Uncertain governor. Date effaced. Ca. 132–160 H. = ca. 750–777 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

Effaced.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس باردشير خرة .....

I–2–1590 Æ 20.

C. Iṣṭakhr

340-343. The Caliph [abu'l-'Abbās] 'Abdullāh [al-Ṣaffāḥ]. 133 H. = 750/1 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: مما امر به عبد الله عبد الله امير المؤمنين اكرمه الله

Margin between linear borders.

I–2–1544a Æ 21.
1652 Æ 20.
1897 Æ 19.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس باصطخر سنة ثلث وثلثين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

PLATE VIII

1998 Æ 20, 1.75+.

PLATE VIII

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344-363. The Caliph ʿAbdullāh [al-Manṣūr]. 140 H. = 757/8 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

محمد	مما امر به
رسول	عبد الله عبد
الله	الله امير المؤمنين
Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس	الوفا
باصطخر سنة اربعين ومئة جائز	•̣•
Margin between linear or beaded circles, the outer of which interrupted by 5 annulets o.	Border consists of 3 annulets ⊙ alternating with • •, between linear circles.

I–1–63 Æ 18.
276 Æ 20, 2.28+.
312a Æ 18, 1.40+.
893 Æ 19, 1.83+.
906 Æ 20, 1.57+. PLATE VIII
I–2–1558 Æ 17. PLATE VIII
1591 Æ 17.
1593 Æ 16.
1598 Æ 20.
1603a Æ 21. PLATE VIII

I–2–1627a Æ 18.
1706 Æ 18.
1836b Æ 18.
1843 Æ 20. PLATE VIII
1870 Æ 19. PLATE VIII
1879d Æ 19.
1881c Æ 17.
1941 Æ 18.
1959 Æ 19.
1962a Æ 18.

A specimen of this issue was published by Soret in 1854.[75] Note جائز at the end of the marginal legend.[76]

364-368. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAli. 145 H. = 762/3 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

محمد	لا اله الا
رسول	الله وحده لا
الله	شريك له
Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس باصطخر	Margin: مما امر به الامير اسمعيل
سنة خمس واربعين ومئة	بن علي اصلحه الله
Margin between linear borders, the outer one in-	Margin between linear borders, the outer one in-

[75] Tiesenhausen, no. 710.
[76] Cf. no. 231, above.

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terrupted by alternating annulets ○ and ○ ○. Outer thick beaded border.

I–1–257 Æ 22, 2.52+.
PLATE VIII
936 Æ 19, 1.90+.

terrupted by 5 annulets ○. Outer thick linear border.

I–2–1569 Æ 21.
1743a Æ 21, 2.58+.
1846a Æ 22. PLATE VIII

369. Similar to nos. 364–368 (mint and date effaced), but margin has: ... اسمعيل بن ... ○ اصلحه ○ الله

I–2–1570 Æ 20. PLATE VIII

For Ismāʿīl b. ʿAli see nos. 317–318, above, struck at Ardashīr-Khurrah.

370-382. Hārūn b. Muḥammad (?). 149 H. = 766/7 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له

Margin: مما امربه الامير هرون بن [محمد ؟]

Outer border consists of 2 linear circles interrupted by 5 (?) annulets ○.

I–1–131 Æ 21.
301 Æ 21, 3.30.
307 Æ 22, 3.23.
335 Æ 21.
382 Æ 21.
937 Æ 21.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب باصطخر سنة تسع واربعين ومئة

Area enclosed by double linear circle. Margin enclosed by inner linear and outer beaded circles interrupted by 5 (?) annulets ○.

I–2–1614 Æ 21.
1704 Æ 20. PLATE VIII
1752 Æ 22. PLATE VIII
1767 Æ 20. PLATE VIII
1800 Æ 20.
1864b Æ 20, 2.12+.
PLATE VIII
1933b Æ 20. PLATE VIII

I have not been able to identify Hārūn b. Muḥammad (?).

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383-390. Al-Rabīʿ b. al-Khaṭīr (?). 159 H. = 775/6 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له

Margin: مما امر به الربيع بن الخطير (؟) اصلحه الله

Margin between linear borders with 4 annulets o.

I–1–657 Æ 22, 2.16+.
PLATE VIII
657a Æ 23, 1.84+.
PLATE VIII
934 Æ 20.

محمد
رسول
الله
بخ (؟)

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس باصطخر سنة تسع وخمسين ومئة

Margin between linear borders, with 5 (?) annulets o on outer circle.

I–2–1520/70 Æ 23.
1587 Æ 23. PLATE VIII
1949 Æ 19.
1963 Æ 20.
2001 Æ 21, 2.48.

The name al-Rabīʿ is certain, and al-Khaṭīr is probably correct, but I have been unable to find anyone by this name in the chronicles. Both the father's name and the position of the name in the marginal formula eliminate the possibility that the person is al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus (cf. nos. 319–323, above, and nos. 391 ff., below).

391-470. The Caliph al-Mahdi and Rabīʿ. 167 H. = 783/4 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له

Border consisting of inner linear circle, circle of dots and outer linear circle; between the latter two, 5 annulets o.

الخليفة
المهدى
محمد امير
المؤمنين
ربيع

Margin: ضرب باصطخر سنة سبع وستين ومئة

Margin between linear circles.

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Diameter usually about 17 mm.; maximum weight, 3.04. Æ.
I–1–17, 75, 92, 113 (PLATE IX), 160, 186, 199, 210, 252, 300, 354, 366, 425, 516, 521, 561, 604, 645, 655b, 884, 887, 893a, 901, 902, 919, 929, 929b, 935a, 948.
I–2–1525, 1550, 1611, 1621 (PLATE IX), 1624, 1643, 1647, 1651b, 1651c, 1664, 1667a, 1692c, 1692d (PLATE IX), 1696b, 1697, 1702, 1703b (PLATE IX), 1711a (PLATE IX), 1712 (PLATE IX), 1723a, 1724b, 1731a, 1731b, 1731d (PLATE IX), 1737, 1741 (PLATE IX), 1745, 1754a, 1754b, 1771a, 1805b (PLATE IX), 1807, 1822a, 1838d, 1853b, 1855, 1861, 1872a, 1874 (PLATE IX), 1881a, 1890 (PLATE IX), 1896, 1898b, 1924b, 1937, 1961a, 1967a, 1971, 1976, 1984, 1988.

471. Similar to nos. 391–470, but the mint-date formula is on the obverse between an inner linear border and a thick outer linear border; reverse, inner linear border, uncertain number of annulets, thick outer linear border.

I–1–386 Æ 19, 2.60+.

472-473. Similar to nos. 391–470, but:

لا اله الا الله وحده شريك له (*sic*) ✱	الخليفة المهدى محمد امير المؤمنين ربيع
Mint-date formula between inner linear border and outer thick linear border.	Uncertain number of annulets. Outer linear border.

I–1–919a, 17. PLATE IX
929a, 17.

474-476. Similar to nos. 391–470, but mint-date formula on obverse between inner linear border and outer thick linear border; and reverse:

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o o o
الخليفة
المهدى محمد
امير المؤمنين
ربيع

One specimen has a pair of annulets at the left; outer linear border.

I–2–1682a Æ 17.
1908a Æ 16.
1916 Æ 16.

PLATE IX

477. Similar to nos. 391–470, but:

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له
بخ

Mint-date formula; outer beaded border.

•
الخليفة
المهدى محمد
امير المؤمنين
ربيع
✱

Alternating o o and o between linear borders.

I–2–1582 Æ 16.

PLATE IX

The first to describe a coin in general similar to nos. 391 to 477 was Fraehn;[77] Lane-Poole published two others similar to the first variety, but with an error in the first line of the obverse on one;[78] Nützel described two also similar to the first variety;[79] and there is a similar specimen in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society. Rabīʿ is identified above, p. 54, in connection with coins bearing his name and struck in the same year at Ardashīr-Khurrah (nos. 319–326).

[77] Tiesenhausen, no. 1037.
[78] *B. M.* i, p. 202, nos. 105–106.
[79] *Berlin*, nos. 2131–2132.

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478-488. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ Barmaki. 182 H. = 803/4 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له
ع
Margin: مما امربه الامير محمد بن يحيى اكرمه الله

Margin between inner beaded and outer linear borders.

محمد
رسول
الله
برمكى
Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس باصطخر سنة اثنى وثمنين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I–1–932 Æ 20, 2.32+.
I–2–1520/7 Æ 19. PLATE IX
1520/63 Æ 19.
1557a Æ 18. PLATE IX
1635b Æ 17.
1641b Æ 18.

I–2–1679 Æ 19, 2.14+. PLATE IX
1726b Æ 20. PLATE IX
1811b Æ 19.
1868 Æ 20. PLATE IX
1967b Æ 19.

489. Similar to nos. 478–488, but apparently no ع beneath the obverse.

I–2–1857a Æ 20.

The governor named in the obverse marginal legend (with his family name beneath the reverse area) is the Barmacide Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ b. Khālid, who struck *fulūs* at Ardashīr-Khurrah and Fasā in 182 H.[80] and at Sābūr in 183 H.[81]

The following coins of Iṣṭakhr (nos. 490–497) are only partially preserved and cannot be definitely assigned to any of the above issues. In view of their fragmentary state no useful purpose would be served in describing them in full.

[80] Nos. 327–336, above, and nos. 562–580, below.
[81] Nos. 510–519, below.

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490-497. Uncertain governors. Ca. 132–200 H. = ca. 750 to 816 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. *Fulūs*.

I–1–376 Æ: reverse margin: .... باصط ....
I–2–1520/65 Æ: reverse margin: (؟) ضرب هذا الفلس باصطخر
1556c Æ: reverse margin: ... باصطخر سنة احد و ...
1731e Æ: obverse margin: ... الامير محمد بن ...
reverse margin: ... هذ الفلس باصطخر سنة ...
1778 Æ: probably Iṣṭakhr
1818 Æ: probably Iṣṭakhr
1840 Æ: probably Iṣṭakhr
I–2–1853a Æ: obverse margin: ..... مما امر به
reverse margin: ... ضرب هذا الفلس باص

D. Al-Ahwāz

498. Anonymous. 140 H. (?) = 757/8 A.D. (?). Al-Ahwāz. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له

Margin: ... بالاهوز (*sic?*) سنة اربعين (؟) ومئة

Outer linear border.

Margin: traces.

Margin between linear borders.

I–2–1520/27 Æ 20. PLATE IX

The attribution is dubious in every respect.

E. Birāmqubādh

499-502. The Caliph ʿAbdullāh [al-Manṣūr]. 141 H. = 758/9 A.D. Birāmqubādh. Fals.

محمد
رسول
الله

مما امربه
عبد الله عبد الله
امير المؤمنين

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بيرمقباذ

•

Border consists of double linear circle broken by alternating o and ••, four times.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس سنة احدى واربعين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I–1–938 Æ 21, 2.10+. PLATE IX
I–2–1552b Æ 21, 2.85. PLATE IX
1744 Æ 21. PLATE X
1758c Æ 20. PLATE X

The mint of Birāmqubādh has been identified by John Walker and is equated with Arrajān, both of which names were known to Ṭabari.[82] A mint (using the signature BRM) was located here in Arab-Sasanian times, and we know of issues of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād and al-Ḥakam b. abi'l-ʿĀṣ dated 54 and 58 H. respectively.[83] After the coinage reform it continued as a mint, dirhems of the years 79, 80, 90 and 93 being known.[84] But no bronze issue of Birāmqubādh was hitherto known, and it is of great interest to learn that the mint was still active under this name as late as 141 H. We have no recorded issue of Arrajān until about 180 H. (see no. 316, above).

F. Madīnat Balkh?

503. The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn. 182 H. (?) = 798/9 A.D. (?). Madīnat Balkh (?). Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 170?; mint and date obscure.

I–2–1774 Æ 25. PLATE X

[82] *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. cxiii–cxvi. Cf. G. C. Miles, "Abarqubādh, a new Umayyad Mint," in *ANS Museum Notes* IV, pp. 115–120, for a further discussion of the confusion between Birāmqubādh, Abarqubādh, etc.
[83] *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. 85–86.
[84] *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, pp. 124–125.

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G. Tawwaj

504. The Caliph [abu'l-ʿAbbās] ʿAbdullāh [al-Ṣaffāḥ]. 132 H. = 749/50 A.D. Tawwaj. Fals.

سنة اثنين
وثلثين
ومئة

Margin: بسم الله مما امر به عبد[الله] امير المؤمنين بتوج

Margin between beaded borders.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: قل لا اسلكم (*sic*) عليه اجرا الا المودة القربى

Margin between beaded borders.

Counterstamp, consisting of a single letter or a circle, in upper part of reverse area, causing a convexity in the reverse area.

I–2–1555 Æ 20, 1.34. PLATE X

A crack, possibly caused by the counter-stamping, is present on the coin at the point where the mint name lies. To judge by the width of the crack there would be a letter between the و and the ج of the name; but on the other side only the letter ا is missing, so it appears that the crack is wider than the flan originally was at this point, and that no letter is missing between و and ج.

This very interesting coin not only is unique but it is the first known example of this mint. Tawwaj was a town on the Ratīn River (now the Rūd-i Ḥilla) in the district of Ardashīr-Khurrah, near Kāzirūn and 32 farsakhs from Shīrāz. It was an ancient town,[85] captured by the Arabs in 18 or 19 H. (639–640 A.D.) and thereafter settled by them and embellished with mosques and a *dār al-muslimīn*.[86] The town's chief claim to fame in later Islamic times was its textile pro-

[85] See Ernst Herzfeld, "Pasargadae," in *Klio*, VIII (1908), p. 18, citing Strabo, Arrian and Ptolemy.

[86] Balādhuri, p. 386; Yāqūt, I, pp. 890–891; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, pp. 74, 127, 212, 377 (spelled Tavaz); *Fārsnāmā*, pp. 114, 135, 163; cf. Le Strange, pp. 259–260.

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duction, particularly of a type of linen known as *tawwazi*, produced both in Tawwaj and also in Kāzirūn by artisans from Tawwaj.[87]

Our interest in this coin is not however limited to its topographical aspects. It will be noted that the obverse margin bears the unusual Qur'ānic quotation Sūrah XLII, *22*: "Say, for this I ask no wage of you, save love of my kin." This verse occurs on a number of coins, both dirhems and *fulūs*, struck by Abu-Muslim and ʿAbdullāh b. Muʿāwiyah during the period of the uprisings by ʿAbbāsid partisans between 127 and 132 H. (744–749 A.D.).[88] On this account one would be inclined at first sight to attribute this coin of Tawwaj also to the ʿAbbāsid partisans, were it not for the fact that the reverse margin bears the name and title, *amīr al-mu'minīn*, of the newly enthroned ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Ṣaffāḥ. The coin therefore is an ʿAbbāsid issue and must have been struck after 13 Rabīʿ I, 132 (30 October, 749), the date of al-Ṣaffāḥ's proclamation. The retention of the propaganda slogan, Qur'ān XLII, *22*, is remarkable, but we know that it still must have been on the lips of all well-informed revolutionaries, for Ṭabari tells us that al-Ṣaffāḥ quoted the verse in his inaugural address.[89] This is, so far as I know, the first recorded example of a purely ʿAbbāsid coin bearing this celebrated passage; the other known issues of the year 132 were struck either before the final success of the revolution, or, at least in the distant mints such as Marv and Balkh, before word was received of al-Ṣaffāḥ's enthronement.

[87] See the numerous references assembled by R. B. Serjeant, "Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest," *Ars Islamica* X (1943), pp. 83–84 (also pp. 81–82), and IX (1942), p. 68, XV–XVI (1951), p. 77.

[88] See nos. 256–257, above, and the literature cited there. To the list in *NHR* should be added another specimen of al-Taymarah, 128 H., another of Jayy, 129 H., which have come to my attention (Cora and E. Zygman collections), and one of Balkh, 132 H., published by Ibrahim Artuk in *Tarih Dergisi* III (Istanbul, 1953), pp. 135–136.

[89] Ṭabari III, p. 29.

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Counterstamps on early ʿAbbāsid coins are not at all common, and it is a pity that the present one is illegible. One can only speculate on its significance. Perhaps it validated the coin in Iṣṭakhr; or else it may have legitimized an issue which might have appeared to those who did not examine it carefully to predate the ʿAbbāsid rule.

H. Jayy

505. [Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Jannāḥ]. 191 H. = 806/7 A.D. Jayy. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له

Effaced.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب ○ هذا الفلس ○ بجبى سنة احدى ○ وتسعين ومئة ○

Margin: .... مولى امير المؤ ....

Margin between beaded borders.

Margin between beaded borders.

I–2–1672 Æ 20. PLATE X

In the Cabinet des Médailles there is a comparable coin,[90] on which Lavoix read the date 181. Could he have misread it? The date of the present specimen is clearly 191. Beneath the reverse area of the Paris piece is the name محمد, and the reverse margin reads: مما امر به الحسين بن الجناح مولى امير المؤمنين. I have not been able to identify the prefect, a freedman. Jayy was the old name for Iṣfahān.

I. Sābūr

506-507. Mūsâ [b. al-Mahdi] and Ṣāliḥ b. Dā'ūd. Ca. 164–165 H. = ca. 780–782 A.D. Sābūr. Fals.

الامير موسى بن
امير المؤمنين

فى ولاية
الامير صلح

[90] *Paris*, no. 1572.

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حفظه الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب بسابور ولى عهد المسلمين

Margin enclosed by border consisting of inner beaded circle and outer linear circle, with annulets o between.

I–2–1612 Æ 20. PLATE X

بن داود

ب

Margin: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له محمد رسول الله

Margin enclosed by double beaded and outer linear circles.

1930 Æ 18. PLATE X

On no. I–2–1930 the words بسم الله appear to be the first line of the area rather than to introduce the marginal legend.

The *amīr* Mūsâ is of course the Caliph al-Mahdi's son (al-Hādi), at this time heir to the throne, as stated in the obverse margin. Ṣāliḥ b. Dā'ūd b. 'Ali was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah and its dependencies, Dijlah, Baḥrayn, 'Umān, al-Furaḍ, al-Ahwāz and Fārs in the year 164 H.[91] These coins, and nos. 508–520, below, are, so far as I know, the first recorded 'Abbāsid issues of Sābūr. It is curious that none should have been found in the excavations there. Arab-Sasanian and Umayyad coins of the mint (Bishāpūr and Sābūr) are well know; among others see nos. 103–134, 190 to 192, above. The phrasing and arrangement of the legends on the present coins is unusual.

508-509. The Caliph al-Mahdi. 167 H. = 783/4 A.D. Sābūr. Fals.

الخليفة
المهدى
امير المؤمنين
.....

سابور
سبع و
ستين و
مئة

[91] Ṭabari III, pp. 501, 503. Cf. Zambaur, p. 40.

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Margin (between linear borders?) effaced.

Triple linear border.

I–2–1903 Æ 16. PLATE X
1997 Æ 16. PLATE X

510-519. Muḥammad [b. Yaḥyâ] Barmaki. 183 H. = 799/800 A.D. Sābūr. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له
*

Area enclosed by double linear border, outside which 5 annulets ⊙.

برمكى
محمد
رسول
الله
محمد

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس بسابور سنة ثلث وثمنين ومئة

Margin enclosed by linear borders, the outer of which interrupted by 5 annulets ○.

I–1–315 Æ 19, 1.50+.
I–2–1520/3 Æ 17.
1520/13 Æ 17. PLATE X
1520/51 Æ 17. PLATE X
1520/54 Æ 18.
1520/61 Æ 19. PLATE X
1690d Æ 18.
1700a Æ 18. PLATE X
1779b Æ 20. PLATE X
1977b Æ 18.

These coins, with "Barmaki" above the reverse and Muḥammad beneath, are to be compared with those of the year 182 struck at Ardashīr-Khurrah, Iṣṭakhr and Fasā (nos. 327–336 and 478–489, above, and 562–580, below).

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520. [Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ?] Barmaki. [18?]4 H. = 800 (?) A.D. Sābūr. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
له .....

Margin: ..... امر به (؟) ....

Margin between linear borders.

.....
رسول
الله
برمكى

Margin: .... الفلس بسابور سنة ار ...

Outer linear border.

I–2–1606b Æ 17.

The attribution is based on nos. 510–519, above, but everything except the word برمكى is dubious.

J. Madīnat Samarqand

521. [Al-Faḍl b. Sahl]. 201 H. = 816/7 A.D. Madīnat Samarqand. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M.* i, no. 288.

I–2–1687a Æ 25. PLATE X

K. Shīrāz

522-552. ʿAbdullāh b. al-Musayyib. 192 H. = 807/8 A.D. Shīrāz. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
*

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس بشيراز سنة اثنتين وتسعين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

مما امر به الا
مير عبد الله
بن المسيب
بخ

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

Margin between linear borders.

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The * beneath the obverse is not always present.

I–1–602 Æ 20, 1.25+. PLATE X
I–2–1520/12 Æ 20, 3.06.
1520/18 Æ 20, 2.24.
1520/23 Æ 20.
1520/26 Æ 20.
1520/29 Æ 22.
1520/30 Æ 21.
1520/32 Æ 19.
1520/34 Æ 19.
1520/37 Æ 22, 2.85. PLATE X
1520/40 Æ 19.
1520/46 Æ 21.
1520/47 Æ 21.
1520/48 Æ 21, 1.84+.
1520/49 Æ 21.
1520/58 Æ 21.
I–2–1520/66 Æ 19, 1.49+.
1520/68 Æ 20. PLATE X
1520/71 Æ 21, 2.83.
PLATE XI
1520/73 Æ 20.
1520/74 Æ 19.
1535b Æ 17.
1626b Æ 19.
1658 Æ 21.
1680 Æ 20.
1692b Æ 20.
1762c Æ 19.
1772d Æ.
1820d Æ 20.
1960 Æ 18. PLATE XI
1966a Æ 20.

The identity of the governor is uncertain. A certain ʿAbdullāh b. al-Musayyib is mentioned once in Ṭabari in connection with events of the year 158 H.,[92] but this is 34 years before the date of these coins. However, this ʿAbdullāh's father was al-Musayyib b. Zuhayr, who was a prominent general and official throughout the forties and fifties of the century[93] and was governor of Khurāsān as late as 163 to 166 H., in which latter year the province rose in revolt against him.[94] A son of his could therefore conceivably have been active in 192 H. There can hardly be any connection with Salm b. al-Musayyib who was governor of Iṣṭakhr and Shīrāz ca. 129 H. (nos. 180–184, above).

See no. 193, above, for an earlier issue of the Shīrāz mint.

[92] Ṭabari III, p. 455.
[93] *Ibid.* III, pp. 3, 21, 80, 135, 195, 293, 382, 384.
[94] *Ibid.* III, pp. 500–501, 503, 517.

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L. Fārs

553. Anonymous. 205 H. = 820/1 A.D. Fārs. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بفارس سنة خمس ومئتين

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

Margin enclosed by inner linear and outer thick linear borders, within which 5 annulets o.

Margin between linear borders.

I–2–1921 Æ 20. PLATE XI

This unique fals of Shīrāz bearing the province name Fārs was struck two years after the earliest known dirhem on which the mint is designated by this name.[95]

M. Fasā

554-561. The Caliph al-Mahdi and Nuṣayr. No date. 158–169 H. = 775–785 A.D. Fasā. Fals.

الخليفة
المهدى محمد
امير المؤمنين
ᴗ

ضرب
نصير
بفسا
ᴗ

Margin: . . . منصور بفارس(؟) . . .

Margin between inner linear and outer beaded borders.

Border ᴗ o ᴗ o ᴗ o ᴗ o between linear circles.

I–1–284 Æ 17.
655 Æ 19. PLATE XI
935 Æ 21.

I–2–1533 Æ 18.
1688b Æ 19, 2.09.
1700b Æ 20, 2.51. PLATE XI
1821 Æ 17. PLATE XI
1875b Æ 19.

[95] See the discussion following no. 193, above.

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The obverse margin seems to consist of only three or four words, the letter *ṣad* of what appears pretty definitely to be منصور, Manṣūr, being drawn out to cover nearly 80% of the circumference. The word بفارس, "in Fārs," is conjectural but quite possible. One of the best preserved obverse marginal legends is NR 61, p. 104, below.

Fasā was an important town between Darabjird and Shīrāz, by the 4th century of the Hijrah almost as large as Shīrāz. Like Tawwaj (see no. 504, above) it was well known for its textiles.[96] Fasā was a mint in early post-reform Umayyad times, and dirhems are known of the years 79, 80 and 81.[97] A sole 'Abbāsid dirhem attributed to Fasā by Fraehn with a query is dated 166 H.;[98] the existence of the present *fulūs* of approximately the same date tend to confirm this attribution. These coins and nos. 562–580, below, are, so far as I know, the only bronze issues of the mint that have come to light.

It would be difficult to say whether Nuṣayr is the same person whose name occurs (always without patronymic) on a number of contemporary dirhems and *fulūs*: Ar Adharbayjān, 166,[99] Æ Madīnat al-Salām, 166,[100] Ar and Æ al-Baṣrah, 167,[101] Ar Armīnīyah, 167,[102] Ar al-Baṣrah, 168,[103] Æ al-Mawṣil, 168,[104] Ar Adharbayjān, 169.[105] On these coins the name occurs either in isolated position in the area or else in the margin accompanied by the phrase *'alâ yaday*, "at the hands of." I have suggested that this man might possibly be

[96] Le Strange, pp. 290, 293–294.
[97] *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, pp. lxxxv, 169.
[98] Tiesenhausen, no. 994.
[99] *Berlin*, no. 780.
[100] *B.M.* i, p. 206, no. 120; *Berlin*, nos. 2151–8; *Paris*, nos. 1620–21; *Antioch*, no. 121; and see below, no. 613.
[101] Tiesenhausen, no. 2772; *Berlin*, no. 2136.
[102] *Berlin*, no. 788.
[103] Tiesenhausen, no. 1047; *B.M.* i, no. 100.
[104] Tiesenhausen, no. 1054.
[105] *B.M.* ix, p. 45, no. 88[t]; *Berlin*, nos. 781–2; *Paris*, no. 691.

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a certain eunuch and freedman by the name of Nuṣayr al-Waṣīf who in 169 was in charge of the postal service.[106]

562-580. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ Barmaki. 182 H. = 798/9 A.D. Fasā. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له
محمد

Margin: مما ○ امربه ○ الامير ○
محمد بن ○ يحيى ○

Margin between inner linear and outer beaded borders.

محمد
رسول
الله
بر مكى

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس بفسا سنة اثنن [or اثنين] وثمنين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I–1–515 Æ 17.	PLATE XI	I–2–1671b Æ.	
562 Æ 18.		1689 Æ 18.	
653 Æ 19.		1695 Æ 19.	
905 Æ 18, 2.64.		1814 Æ 19.	PLATE XI
912 Æ 18, 2.53.		1847b Æ 19.	
I–2–1520/15 Æ 17.		1850 Æ 18.	PLATE XI
1520/28 Æ 18.		1912 Æ.	
1530 Æ 18.	PLATE XI	1969 Æ 19.	
1610 Æ 17.	PLATE XI	1986 Æ 19.	PLATE XI
1622c Æ 17.	PLATE XI		

This issue of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ the Barmacide is to be compared with others of the same date struck at Ardashīr-Khurrah (nos. 327–336) and Iṣṭakhr (nos. 478–489), and those of Sābūr issued in 183 (nos. 510–519) and possibly 184 (no. 520).

N. Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs

581-602a. Anonymous. 161 H. = 777/8 A.D. Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs. Fals.

[106] *Antioch*, p. 117, citing Ṭabari III, pp. 461, 462, 545.

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لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس سنة احدى وستين ومئة

Margin enclosed by linear border, outside which 4 or 5 annulets o.

I–1–102 Æ 22.
127 Æ 23, 3.37+.
358 Æ 22, 2.90+.
380 Æ 24, 2.89+.
407a Æ 21.
407b Æ 21, 3.62+.
462 Æ 22. PLATE XI
468 Æ 22.
475 Æ 22. PLATE XI
I–2–1554 Æ 24. PLATE XI
1574 Æ.
1592b Æ 20.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بكورة المهدية من فارس

Area and margin enclosed by linear borders, outside which 4 (?) annulets o and outer beaded border.

I–2–1620 Æ 23.
1655 Æ 21.
1691c Æ 20.
1729a Æ 23. PLATE XI
1734b Æ.
1740 Æ 24.
1885a Æ 21. PLATE XI
1885b Æ 22.
1887 Æ 23. PLATE XI
1973a Æ 24. PLATE XI
HL 96, refuse Æ 22.

603-608. Similar to nos. 581–602, but above the reverse area: جور.

I–1–89 Æ 23, 2.06+. PLATE XI
119 Æ 22, 2.58+. PLATE XII
464 Æ 22, 4.57+.
545 Æ 23.
I–2–1573 Æ 24. PLATE XII
1756 Æ 21. PLATE XII

609. Similar to nos. 581–602, but overstruck obverse on reverse.

I–2–1538b Æ 20. PLATE XII

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It is curious that only one specimen of these evidently plentiful issues (nos. 581–609) has hitherto been recorded, and this one specimen was double-struck or overstruck like no. 609, so that the publisher was unable to decipher the mint name, although he did read the first part of it, *Kūrah*. This specimen belonged to F. Soret and was described by him in 1854.[107] Soret speculated on the possibility that the mint name was to be read *Kūrat al-Muʿaẓẓam*, and for this reason supposed that the coin may have been struck in Mecca.

Nos. 603–608 are the clue to the identification of this unrecorded geographical name, Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs: the *kūrah* or district must be Ardashīr-Khurrah, and the mint Jūr, otherwise known as Fīrūzābād, in early Islamic times the chief town of the district.[108] The five *kūrahs* or districts of Fārs in the classical Arab period were Ardashīr-Khurrah, Sābūr, Arrajān, Iṣṭakhr and Darabjird,[109] and at one time during my preliminary study of the Iṣṭakhr excavation coins I came to the conclusion that the Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs must be either Iṣṭakhr itself, Shīrāz or Sābūr.[110] But at that time I had not noticed the significance of the name Jūr on the variety (nos. 603–608). Obviously this new official name for the old Sasanian district was created to honor the Caliph al-Mahdi (father of Hārūn al-Rashīd),[111] but evidence that it did not continue long in vogue is provided by the issues of 167 H., only six years later,

[107] F. Soret, "Lettre à M. Sawelief," *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1854, pp. 285–286, no. 13 = Tiesenhausen, no. 915.

[108] Cf. the discussion under nos. 317–318, above; also nos. 319–323, and (Ardashīr-Khurrah with the amplifying specification "Jūr") nos. 324–326.

[109] Le Strange, p. 248.

[110] Miles, *A brief Report*, pp. 495–496. I was mistaken there in equating Ardashīr-Khurrah with Shīrāz; it was not until later that Shīrāz became the capital of the district (see p. 47, above).

[111] Another mint renamed in honor of al-Mahdi was Rayy, called al-Muḥammadīyah, after his given name, in 148 and for many years thereafter (down until the Ghaznavid period). See *NHR*, p. 31.

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where the old name Ardashīr-Khurrah recurs (nos. 319–326); and the latter designation is still in use in 182 H. (nos. 327–336).

O. Al-Muḥammadīyah

610. Hārūn al-Rashīd. 170 H. = 786/7 A.D. Al-Muḥammadīyah. Fals.
Obverse similar to *NHR* no. 70 F, reverse similar to *NHR* no. 70 G.
I–2–1928a Æ 21. PLATE XII

611. Anonymous. 193 H. = 808/9 A.D. Al-Muḥammadīyah. Dirhem.
Similar to *NHR* no. 94 A.
I–1–97 Æ 22.

P. Madīnat al-Salām

612. The Caliph Al-Mahdi. 162 H. = 778/9 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Dirhem.
Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 126.
I–2–1588 Æ 23. PLATE XII

613. The Caliph Al-Mahdi Muḥammad and Nuṣayr. 166 H. = 782/3 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Fals.
Similar to *B.M.* i, p. 206, no. 120.
I–2–1666 Æ 21, 2.63.
For Nuṣayr, see nos. 554–561, above.

614. Anonymous. 193 H. = 808/9 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Dirhem.
Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 226.
I–1–203 Æ 22, 2.46.

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615. The Caliph al-Rāḍi. 323 H. = 934/5 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 465.

I–2–1583 Æ 25. PLATE XII

Q. Ma'din al-Shāsh

616. Al-Ma'mūn as eventual heir. 190 H. = 805/6 A.D. Ma'din al-Shāsh. Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 228.

I–2–1519 Æ 25. PLATE XII

R. Wāsiṭ

617-618. Uncertain governor. 1x6 H. = ca. 753–783 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Fals.

Effaced.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بواسط سنة ست و ....ومئة

Margin enclosed by double linear border, annulets, outer thick linear border.

Margin: مما(؟) امر به الامير محمد(؟).....

Margin between linear borders.

I–2–1520/69 Æ 20. PLATE XII
1957 Æ 20.

This issue, unfortunately not wholly decipherable, appears to be unpublished.[112]

S. No Mint Name

619-621. Anonymous. 156 H. = 772/3 A.D. No mint name. Fals.

[112] At least nothing similar seems to be recorded in Welin, *Wāsiṭ*.

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لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Double beaded border enclosing 3 annulets ○.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب سنة ست وخمسين ومئة

Margin between beaded borders, the outer of which interrupted by 3 pairs of annulets ○○.

I–2–1761 Æ 21. PLATE XII
1780e Æ.
1851 Æ 22. PLATE XII

T. Mint Effaced.

622. The Caliph al-Mahdi. 166 H. = 782/3 A.D. Mint effaced. Dirhem.

Probably similar to *B.M.* i, no. 132 (Madīnat al-Salām).

I–2–1686a Æ 24 (frg., cut in half).

623-629. Period of al-Mahdi. 158–169 H. = 775–785 A.D. Mint effaced. *Fulūs*.

Obscure bronze coins either bearing al-Mahdi's name, or a partial date, or exhibiting characteristics of the coinage of al-Mahdi.

I–1–31, 55, 179, 412.
I–2–1645, 1701b (PLATE XII), 1817 (PLATE XII).

630. Muḥammad [b. Yaḥyâ] Barmaki. 182 H. (?) = 798/9 A.D. (?). Mint effaced. Fals.

Similar to the issues of Fasā of 182 H. (nos. 562–580), but برمك (?) instead of برمكى, mint and date effaced.

I–2–1520/36 Æ 18. PLATE XII

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631-632. Uncertain governor. 198 H. = 813/4 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

لا اله الا
.....ده
.....

مما امر به الام...
.....
.....

Border consists of two linear circles, between which alternating ∪ and O.

Margin: ضرب هذا الـ.....ثمان وتسعين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I–2–1849b Æ 17.
1886b Æ 17.

U. Mint and Date Effaced, ʿAbbāsid 2nd Century H.

Ca. 750–815 A.D.

633-849 d. 221 unidentifiable bronze coins with 2nd century ʿAbbāsid characteristics.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

V. Mint Effaced, ʿAbbāsid 3rd Century H.

Ca. 815–912 A.D.

850. The Caliph al-Mutawakkil. Date effaced. 232–247 H. = 847–861 A.D. Mint effaced. Dirhem.

I–2–1901 Æ.

851. The Caliph al-Muʿtamid. 272 H. = 885/6 A.D. Mint effaced. Dirhem.

I–2–1585 Æ.

852. The Caliph al-Muʿtamid. Date effaced. 256–279 H. = 870–892 A.D. Mint effaced. Dirhem.

I–2–1992 Æ. PLATE XII

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853-854. Mint effaced. Date effaced. Dirhem fragments.

I–2–1657 Æ (date ends مائتين).
1722 Æ.

855-856. Mint effaced. Date effaced. *Fulūs*.
Dates end مائتين.

I–1–643 Æ 17.
I–2–1952 Æ.

XII. SĀMĀNID

857. Manṣūr b. Nūḥ and Aḥmad b. Manṣūr. 3xx = 961–977 A.D. Bukhārā (?). Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك له

Margin: مما امر به الامير احمد بن منصور مولى امير المؤمنين

Margin between linear borders.

Outer margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس ببخارا (؟).....

Inner margin: (؟) على يدى ..... و....ين وثلثمائة

Marginal legends between linear borders.

I–2–1958 Æ 27. PLATE XIII

This coin should be legible in its entirety but I have been unable to read parts of the marginal legends in the photograph. In some respects it is comparable to *B.M.* ii, no. 411.

XIII. BŪYID

858. Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah and Fakhr al-Dawlah. 38x H. = 990–998 A.D. Mint effaced. Dirhem.

لا اله....
وحده لاشر...

.....
الملك...

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صمصام الد....
وشمس الم....
ابو كال.....
⁘

Margin: traces.

Border of dots enclosing area.

القا.....
فخر.....
وملك....

Margin: بسم .....ين وثلث مائة

Outer border of dots, outside of which annulets OO (one pair preserved).

I–2–1760 Æ 26. PLATE XIII

Cf. *B.M.* ii, no. 667, with similar area legends.

859-860. Būyid. Late 4th to early 5th c. H. = late 10th to early 11th c. A.D.

Traces of legends suggest Būyid attribution.

I–2–1674 Æ.
1763a Æ (frg.).

XIV. SELJŪQ?

861. Unidentifiable clipping. Ca. 5th c. H. = ca. 11th c. A.D. Dinar fragment.

Traces of legend suggest the Seljūq period.

I–2–542 Æ 9+ (frg.). PLATE XIII

XV. ILKHĀNID

862. Abu-Saʿīd. 730 H. = 1329/30 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

.....
السلطان...
فى سنة ثلثين
...خان خا...
.....

لا اله الا
...محمد
.....

I–2–1811a Æ 19. PLATE XIII

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863. Sulaymān Khān. 740–744 H. = 1339–1344 A.D. Kabīr Shaykh or Shaykh-i Kabīr. Bronze.

شیخ	ن
کبیر	سلیما
ضرب	خان

Linear circle and outer border of dots, obverse and reverse.

I–2–1684a Æ 16. PLATE XIII

The location of this mint is unknown.[113] I have recorded in my files specimens in silver of the Ilkhānids Muḥammad, Ṭoghā Tīmūr and Sulaymān, dated 737,[114] 738, 739, 73x and 74x.

XVI. AUTONOMOUS PERSIAN

864. Anonymous. 12th–13th c. H. = 18th–19th c. A.D. Iṣfahān. Bronze.

General type of *B.M. Shāhs of Persia*, p. 219, nos. 26 ff.

I–1–355 Æ 24, 18.10.

XVII. QĀJĀR

865. Muḥammad Shāh. 1250–1264 H. = 1835–1848 A.D. Irān. Bronze.

Type of *B.M. Shāhs of Persia*, no. 576.

I–2–1592a Æ 19.

XVIII. UNIDENTIFIABLE

866-1046. 181 unidentifiable bronze coins, the majority, to judge by their fabric, late Sasanian or early Islamic.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

[113] B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran* (Berlin, 1955), pp. 129 and 133, lists this mint but does not indicate whether or not it has been identified.
[114] Cf. PT 10, p. 88, below.

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PERSEPOLIS TERRACE EXCAVATIONS

I. SASANIAN

1. Ardashir I. 224–241 A.D. Dirhem.

Bust of king, r., with moustache, long plaited beard, side and back hair; low crown surmounted by globe.

Legend (beginning at 11:30 o'clock):

Fire-altar on fluted shaft standing on two steps; handles resembling lion's paws resting on incense vessels. At r. ; at l. .

PT–5–64 Æ 24, 3.85 (broken in 2 pieces). PLATE XIII

Cf. Paruck, nos. 37ff., plates II and III. Note that the reverse legend is opposite to the usual order.

2. Khosrau II. Year 31 = 620 A.D. šı (?) = Shīrajān (?). Dirhem.

Usual type, with in obverse margin. Reverse: at r. ; at l. .

PT–5–373a Æ 28, 3.00. PLATE XIII

The mint mark is Walker's no. 49, which he tentatively assigned to Shīrajān, the old capital of Kirmān province; and I have supported this hypothesis.[115]

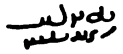
II. ARAB-SASANIAN

3. ʿAbdullāh b. Zubayr. 63 H. (?) = 682/3 A.D. (?). ZR = Zaranj. Dirhem.

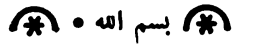
[115] Cf. Miles, *Kirmān*.

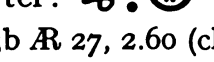
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Usual bust. At r.:



Margin, 2nd quarter:



3rd quarter: 

Usual fire-altar and attendants. At r.  ; at l.  .

PT–5–373b Æ 27, 2.60 (clipped). PLATE XIII

Probably there were two or three pellets (⁝ or ∴) after بسم الله in the margin (as on other coins of ʿAbdullāh b. Zubayr's at Zaranj),[116] but only one has been preserved as a result of clipping. The writing of the date is enigmatic and I can only suggest 63 as the probable date.

III. UMAYYAD

Sābūr (?).

4. Anonymous. No date. Ca. 100–132 H. = ca. 718–750 A.D. Sābūr (?). Fals.

لا اا....
الا....
وحد..

Linear border.

سابور (؟)
محمد
رسول
الله •

Linear border.

PT–5–388 Æ 19, 1.65. PLATE XIII

IV. ʿABBĀSID

a) Iṣṭakhr

5-6. The Caliph al-Mahdi and Rabīʿ. 167 H. = 783/4 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

[116] The only published specimen of ʿAbdullāh b. Zubayr at Zaranj (*B.M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 32, no. M.20, year 69) is not fully described; but two unpublished specimens in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society (years 66? and 69) have ⁝ and ∴ respectively. Both incidentally have in the 3rd quarter.

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Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 391–470, pp. 60–61, above.

PT–7–360 Æ 16. PLATE XIII
372 Æ 16. PLATE XIII

b) Al-ʿAbbāsīyah

7. Yazīd? 171 H. (?) = 787/8 A.D. (?). Al-ʿAbbāsīyah. Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 183, but reverse: above, جائز ✻; beneath, يزيد?

PT–7–212 Æ 25. PLATE XIII

As is the case with almost all the coins of this mint the legends on this specimen are exceedingly difficult to read. Here an additional difficulty is that the coin is double struck. My reading of the date is doubtful. The word جائز is dubious, but يزيد is almost certainly correct. At all events I have not found in the published literature or in the collection of the American Numismatic Society any other specimen with a similar legend above the reverse area.

c) Mint Effaced

8. Uncertain governor. 2nd c. H. = ca. 750–815 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

Conventional formulae, no distinctive legends preserved.

PT–5–838 Æ 17.

V. ILKHĀNID

9. Abu-Saʿīd. No date. 716–736 H. = 1316–1336 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Very obscure, probably similar to Naqsh-i Rustam Excavations, no. 68, p. 106, below.

PT–7–227 Æ 16.

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10. Muḥammad Khān. 737 H. = 1336/7 A.D. Kabīr Shaykh or Shaykh-i Kabīr. Bronze.

Within square, within circular linear and dotted border:

(*sic*) السطان
(*sic*) محمد
خلد ملكه

In segments between square and circle: · ✱ ·

In center, within ornamental triangle within linear and dotted border:

ب
ضر
شیخ
کبیر

In segments between triangle and circle: | سنة سبع
و...ن | وس...ة

PT–5–845 Æ 22, 2.50. PLATE XIV

For the same mint name on a coin of Sulaymān Khān, see Iṣṭakhr Excavations, no. 863, p. 84, above.

VI. ILKHĀNID OR SUCCESSOR

11-13. Uncertain rulers. Ca. 700–750 H. = ca. 1300–1350 A.D. Mints effaced. Bronze.

Few traces preserved; roughly attributable by style and fabric.

PT–3–10 Æ 23.
18 Æ 16.
19 Æ 25.

VII. MUẒAFFARID

14. Shāh Shujāʿ. 765–786 H. = 1363–1384 A.D. Īdhaj. Dirhem.

Within square formed by elongated bases of surrounding inscription:

Within curved polygonal frame:

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اللطان (*sic*)
وامير المؤمنين
.. لطاع شاه شجاع
ضرب ايذج...
خلد الله ملكه
scroll

بلد
ايذج •
Around: لا اله ... الله محمد رسول
الله

PT–3–14 Æ 18, 1.40. PLATE XIV

Quite a few coins of this dynasty struck at Īdhaj have been published, but none, so far as I know, of this type. Īdhaj, the Māl-Amīr or Malamir of today, lies in Khūzistān south-east of Tustar on the Dujayl.[117]

VIII. TĪMŪRID

15. Tīmūr Gūrkhān and Maḥmūd. Date effaced or no date. Ca. 790–800 H. = ca. 1388–1398 A.D. Shīrāz. Bronze.

.....
..لسلطان مح....
...مور كوركان
...لك.....

Within ornamental circle (?):
عدلية
شيراز

PT–5–840 Æ 20, 1.98. PLATE XIV

Cf. *B.M.* vii, nos. 38–43, in some respects similar, but this is a different issue.

IX. AUTONOMOUS PERSIAN

a) Shīrāz

16. Anonymous. 12th–13th c. H. = 18th–19th c. A.D. Shīrāz. Bronze.

Unidentifiable quadruped, walking right.

فلوس
ب
ضر شيراز

PT–5–16 Æ 25, 18.30. PLATE XIV

[117] Le Strange, p. 245.

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b) Uncertain Mint

17. Anonymous. Probably 11th–12th c. H. = 17th–18th c. A.D. Mint? Bronze.

See illustration.

PT–5–839 Æ 17 × 13, 1.45. PLATE XIV

18. Anonymous. 12th–13th c. H. = 18th–19th c. A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Lion (?), walking right.

....فلو
ب
.....

PT–5–436 Æ 21, 9.50.

X. UNIDENTIFIABLE ISLAMIC

19. Unidentifiable, probably after 8th c. H. = after 14th c. A.D. Bronze.

Traces of letters on one side.

PT–3–6 Æ 17.

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NAQSH-I RUSTAM EXCAVATIONS

I. PERSIS

1. Artaxerxes V and Papek. Ca. 200 A.D. Obol?

Bust of Artaxerxes V, facing; long pointed beard, long side hair. Tiara with star and crescent in center. At r.: 𐭱𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭮𐭱𐭮. At l.: 𐭬𐭠𐭩𐭥. Border of dots.

Bust of Papek, left, wearing tiara. At r.: 𐭯𐭠𐭯𐭪. At l.: 𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭮. Border of dots, overlapping at r.

NR–1–53 Æ 11, 0.55. PLATE XIV

This type appears to be unpublished. Of comparable style is de Morgan, *Manuel,* p. 288, fig. 370; and cf. de Morgan, pl. XXXIV, nos. 18–22.

II. SASANIAN

A. SILVER[118]

2. Bahram IV. 388–399 A.D. Uncertain mint. Dirhem.

Type of Paruck, nos. 284–286, pl. XIII. Obverse legend abbreviated and barbarous. Reverse: at l. ب; at r. ح.

NR–2–57 Æ 25. PLATE XIV

3. Bahram V. 420–438 A.D. No mint signature? Dirhem.

Semi-barbarous type somewhat comparable to Paruck, no. 318, pl. XIV. Obverse: illegible inscriptions r. and l. Reverse: no legible inscription, possible traces at r.

NR–2–51 Æ 30. PLATE XIV

[118] Arranged chronologically by rulers, and alphabetically by mints within reigns.

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4. Hormizd IV. Year 5 = 583 A.D. NIH = Nihāvand. Dirhem.

Type of Paruck, nos. 343 ff., pl. XX. Reverse: at r. ماالله ; at l. سهمسد .

NR–1–9/1 Æ 28 (fragmentary). PLATE XIV

This mint signature has been identified by Walker (*B.M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. civ, no. 45). It is Paruck's no. 134. Göbl for some reason omits it.

5. Hormizd IV. Year 9 = 587 A.D. RD = Rayy. Dirhem.

Reverse: at r. ۷۵ ; at l. طاسد .

NR–1–9/2 Æ 27, 2.70+ (frg. lacking).

6. Khosrau II. Year 37 = 626 A.D. DR = Darabjird. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. ۷۶ ; at l. دراسد .

NR–1–9/12 Æ 32, 3.40.

The mint signature is Paruck's no. 78, Göbl's no. 32.

7. Khosrau II. Year 31 = 620 A.D. MR = Merv. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. بهد ; at l. مراسد .

NR–1–9/10 Æ 28 (frgs. lacking).

The mint signature is Walker's no. 40a, Paruck's no. 110, Göbl's no. 47 (2nd variety).

8. Khosrau II. Year 33 = 622 A.D. MR = Merv. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. بهد ; at l. مراسد .

NR–1–9/11 Æ 28, 2.81. PLATE XIV

9. Khosrau II. Year 26? = 615 A.D.? NHR = Nahr-Tīrâ. Dirhem.

Usual type. Obverse: ده ۷ in 2nd quarter. Reverse: at r. ماك ; at l. نهرساسا .

NR–1–9/8 Æ 33, 3.23+ (frg. lacking).

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10. Khosrau II. Year 35 = 624 A.D. NHR = Nahr-Tīrâ. Dirhem.

Usual type, but in obverse margin, 2nd quarter: ﷲ. Reverse: at r. ـبرـ; at l. ـهـ.

NR–2–15 Æ 33. PLATE XV

Note the unusual marginal legend. The mint signature is apparently a variety of Paruck's no. 130, Walker's no. 44a, Göbl's no. 53, but at all events almost certainly NHR.

11. Khosrau II. Year 7 = 596 A.D. NH = Nihāvand. Dirhem.

Early "beardless" type. Reverse: at r. ـابر; at l. ـسـ.

NR–1–9/3 Æ 31, 3.28+ (frg. lacking). PLATE XV

The mint signature is Walker's no. 43 or 43a, Paruck's no. 130 or 131, Göbl's no. 51.

12. Khosrau II. Year 16 = 605 A.D. NIH = Nihāvand. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. ـابر; at l. ـسـ.

NR–1–9/5 AR 32, 3.37. PLATE XV

For the mint signature, compare no. 4.

13. Khosrau II. Year 28 = 617 A.D. NH = Nihāvand. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. ـابر; at l. ـهـ.

NR–1–9/9 Æ 31, 3.12+ (small frg. lacking). PLATE XV

For the mint signature, compare no. 11.

14. Khosrau II. Year 17 = 606 A.D. RD = Rayy. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. ـدى; at l. ـهـ.

NR–1–9/6 Æ 28, 2.97+.

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15. Khosrau II. Year 34? = 623 A.D.? ST = Iṣṭakhr. Dirhem.

Usual type, but in obverse margin, 2nd quarter: دده ڤ. Reverse: at r. ضط; at l. ىرسكصه.

NR–2–38 Æ 24 (clipped). PLATE XV

16. Khosrau II. Year 35 = 624 A.D. ŠR? = Shīrajān? Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. سـ; at l. صهاسـ.

NR–1–9/7 Æ 31, 2.88+ (frgs. lacking). PLATE XV

The mint signature is enigmatic. Perhaps comparable are Paruck's no. 2 (AB, Abrashahr?), his nos. 186 and 208 (uncertain attribution), Göbl's no. 64 and Walker's no. 49, Shīrajān. The latter seems to me the most likely identification. Shīrajān was the late Sasanian and early Islamic capital of Kirmān province.[119]

17. Khosrau II. 590–628 A.D. Date effaced. ZR = Zaranj. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. ىـ; at l. obscure.

I–1–9/4 Æ 31, 3.60.

The mint signature is a variant of Paruck's nos. 248–251, Walker's no. 57 and Göbl's no. 73.

B. BRONZE

18-20. Probably Khosrau II. 590–628 A.D. Bronze.

Three poorly preserved and obscure bronze coins with obverse bust resembling that of Khosrau II and reverse fire-altar and attendants; one (NR–1–45) possibly bearing the Iṣṭakhr mint signature.

NR–1–45 Æ 16.
51 Æ 27.
56 Æ 13.

[119] Cf. Miles, *Kirmān*.

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21. Late Sasanian. 6th–7th c. A.D. Bronze.

Traces of bust? Camel (?), walking r.

NR–1–49 Æ 17.

22-29. Late Sasanian. 6th–7th c. A.D. Bronze.

Obscure largely effaced coins recognizable by their fabric as late Sasanian but otherwise unidentifiable.

NR–1–46a Æ 20.
46b Æ 14.
58 Æ 18.
60 Æ 12.
NR–1–61 Æ 14.
62 Æ 13.
63 Æ 16.
NR–2–48 Æ 11.

III. ARAB-SASANIAN

A. SILVER

a) *Anonymous*

30. Anonymous (name of Yezdigird III). 20 Y.E.[120] = 31 H. = 651/2 A.D. NHR = Nahr-Tīrâ. Dirhem.

Usual type of Yezdigird III, with name at right. In margin, 2nd quarter, traces of Kufic legend جيد (?).

Usual type. At r. يانكـ; at l. ١٣١. Crescent l., star r. of flames.

NR–1–9/13 Æ 28, 2.35+ (clipped). PLATE XV

Cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 3, no. 2, which has بسم الله in the margin.

b) *ʿAbdullāh b. Zubayr*

1. Ardashīr-Khurrah

31. ʿAbdullāh b. Zubayr. 66 H. = 685/6 A.D. ART = Ardashīr-Khurrah. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 29, no. I.14, except obverse margin: ٦٦ صنع ١٢٠ بسم الله. Reverse: at r. ٠٦٦; at l. ربزرسدم. Star l., crescent r. of flames.

NR–1–9/16 Æ 32, 3.45. PLATE XVI

[120] Yezdigird era.

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2. Kirmān

32. ʿAbdullāh b. Zubayr. 69 H. = 688/9 A.D. KRMNRMAN = Kirmān. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 32, no. 41, except different dies, no countermarks. Reverse: at r. دلیلهس; at l. اسارسه. Crescent l., star r. of flames.

NR–1–9/17 Æ 31, 3.61. PLATE XVI

Mention of this specimen was made in Miles, *Kirmān*, footnote 16. The mint signature bears an unpublished variety of suffix, the meaning of which, like the numerous others at the Kirmān mint, is undetermined.[121]

c) *Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān*

33. Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān. 41 Y.E. = 53 H. = 672/3 A.D. DAP = Darabjird. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 40, no. 58, except mint signature دسـه. Star l., crescent r. of flames.

NR–1–9/14 Æ 31, 3.47. PLATE XVI

Walker reads this variety of the Darabjird mint signature as DAR (his no. 18), but it would seem to me that DAP is a more likely reading.

d) *ʿUbaydullāh b. Ziyād*

34. ʿUbaydullāh b. Ziyād. 62 H. = 681/2 A.D. BJRA = al-Baṣrah. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 59, no. 88. Reverse: pellet r. of mint signature; at l. ابسسه. Crescent l., pellet r. of flames.

NR–1–9/15 Æ 28, 2.31+ (frg. of rim lacking). PLATE XVI

[121] Cf. Miles, *Kirmān*.

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e) *ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydullāh*

1. Bishāpūr

35-36. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydullāh. 67 H. = 686/7 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 103–107, p. 26, above.

NR–1–9/18 Æ 31, 3.51.
9/19 Æ 32, 3.50. PLATE XVI

37. The same. 68 H. = 687/8 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.
Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, no. 108, p. 26, above.

NR–1–9/20 Æ 32, 3.62.

38. The same.
Similar to no. 37, but star l., crescent r. of flames, as on *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, no. 196.

NR–1–9/21 Æ 31, 3.45. PLATE XVI

39-40. The same. 69 H. = 688/9 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 100, no. 197, except: mint signature no. 12b, and date written ٦٩ سنة. Star l., crescent r. of flames.

NR–1–9/22 Æ 31, 3.61.
9/23 Æ 31, 3.45. PLATE XVI

41-45. The same. 70 H. = 689/90 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 109–134, p. 27, above.

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NR–1–9/26 Æ 31, 3.52.
9/27 Æ 30, 3.47. PLATE XVII
9/28 Æ 30, 2.87+ (clipped).
9/31 Æ 31, 3.20.
9/32 Æ 31, 3.30. PLATE XVII
(9/36 Æ 32, 3.48).[122] PLATE XVII

46. The same.

Similar to nos. 41–45, but date written ٩٣.

NR–1–9/33 Æ 31, 2.85+ (frg. lacking).

47-48. The same.

Similar to nos. 41–45, but no pellet before الله in obverse margin.

NR–1–9/29 Æ 31, 3.48+ (piece lacking). PLATE XVII
9/30 Æ 31, 3.10. PLATE XVII

2. Uncertain Mint

49. The same. 69 H. = 688/9 A.D. VIŠP or NIŠP or NIŠČ, etc.? Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 102, no. B.35, but obverse margin: ٣٠ ⟨flame⟩ ⁘ الحد لله ⟨flame⟩ ٠. Reverse: at r. ٠٦٩. Star l., crescent r. of flames.

NR–1–9/24 Æ 32, 3.40. PLATE XVII

50. The same.

Similar to no. 49, but mint written: ٠٦٩.

NR–1–9/25 Æ 32, 3.48. PLATE XVII

[122] This coin, now among those belonging to the Oriental Institute, was found in the envelope marked NR–1–9/36, but the field inventory card for this number (prepared by the writer in 1936) describes a coin of Qaṭari (see no. 53, below). Obviously at some point two coins and envelopes were switched. In order to keep the number of specimens correct I have counted only five specimens of this issue, as one of the others listed above (now in Teheran) may actually be the one now in envelope 9/36.

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The mint signature is a puzzle. The letters can be read in many different ways. Walker (*B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. civ, no. 45a and p. cxxv) reads NIH (?) for Nihāvand, but I find it difficult to accept this interpretation. Could it by any chance be a rendering of the old Pahlevi name of Bishāpūr, that is, Wēh-Shāhpuhr? The fact that all the other coins of ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydullāh in this hoard were struck at the mint of Bishāpūr might lend some support to this suggestion.[123] The only other known example of this mint signature is on a coin of ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydullāh, year 72 (?).[124]

f) *ʿAṭīyah b. al-Aswad*

51. ʿAṭīyah b. al-Aswad. 73 H. = 692/3 A.D. KRMAN-RB (?) = Kirmān. Dirhem.

Usual bust. At r.: [illegible]

In margin: • بسم الله ولى الامر •

Usual fire-altar and attendants. At r.: [illegible]; at l. [illegible]. Star l., crescent r. of flames.

NR–1–9/34 Æ 31, 3.38. PLATE XVIII

Cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 111, no. I.45, dated 73 or 76 (?), with a different mint suffix. Here we have still another variety of these mysterious appended letters. Cf. no. 32, above.

This specimen was mentioned and illustrated in Miles, *Kirmān*, footnote 22, plate, 3.

52. The same. 74 H. = 693/4 A.D. KRMAN-NHR = Kirmān. Dirhem.

Similar to no. 51, but in 3rd quarter of obverse margin: [illegible]. Reverse: at r. [illegible]; at l. [illegible].

NR–1–9/35 Æ 31, 3.72.

[123] If the first letter is N, the abbreviation might be for Nāshāpūr, which according to Mustawfi was a form of the name Bishāpūr (Le Strange, p. 263).

[124] Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, no. 37.

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Cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 111, no. Th.15, and *RIC*, no. 29, which however lack the Pahlevi legend in the 3rd quarter of the obverse and have mint signature KRMAN (Walker's no. 28). The mint signature here appears to be similar to Walker's no. 34. The present specimen was mentioned in Miles, *Kirmān*, footnote 22. An unpublished specimen is a recent American Numismatic Society accession (ANS 57.84) with اسم in the 3rd quarter of the obverse and mint signature دلهمسی (Walker's no. 33).

g) *Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'ah*

53.[125] Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'ah. 75 H. = 694/5 A.D. DARTM or DARAWM = Darabjird. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 113, no. 220, but mint signature appears to be: دىبرد.

NR–1–9/36 Æ 30, 3.70.

The mint signature is reproduced here from my own transcription of it in the field. It is possible that the letter which I read as a *t* is blurred and actually is the same as the element on the *B.M.* specimen, i.e., AW. Unfortunately there is no photograph of the coin and it is presumably in the Teheran Museum. An unpublished specimen in the American Numismatic Society (ANS 56.137) has دىبرد. Another variety of the same mint and date (with mint signature DA apparently) has been described since the publication of *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*.[126]

Both John Walker and I[127] are mistaken in furnishing Qaṭari's name with the definite article. The legend of course does not have it, and he is simply Qaṭari in the chronicles.[128]

[125] This is the coin which originally bore the field number NR–1–9/36. Cf. footnote 122, above.
[126] T. O. Mabbott in *Numismatic Review* IV (1947), p. 28, not illustrated.
[127] Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, p. 203.
[128] I owe this observation to G. Levi Della Vida.

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B. BRONZE

a) *Iṣṭakhr*

54. Uncertain governor. Ca. 70–90 H. = ca. 689–709 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Facing head, bearded. Cross above headdress. At r. ; at l. , and above it (?). Beaded border.

In center, uncertain figure, possibly a large tall M, with beneath base line. At r. ; at l. (APSTAN). Beaded border.

NR–2–2 Æ 20. PLATE XVIII

This very interesting coin is unique. The occurrence of the Byzantine cross and M on hybrid Arab-Sasanian bronzes is however not without parallel: cf. Walker, *Coins from Susa*, nos. 6, 13, 15. The almost complete spelling out of the mint name is met with on two specimens found in the Iṣṭakhr excavations (nos. 146–147, above, p. 35), where also a cross is present above the reverse type. APSTAN, for *apastān*, is an important addition to the limited Pahlevi vocabulary of Arab-Sasanian numismatics. There can be little doubt about the correctness of the reading, which I owe to my friend Professor Richard N. Frye. The word is common on Sasanian seals,[129] the meaning essentially being, "refuge, confidence, faith,"[130] I would suggest that here the sense is identical with the Arabic *al-wafā'*, which already appears on some Arab-Byzantine bronzes,[131] and soon occurs frequently on bronze coins of pure Arab type,[132] as well as on glass weights.[133]

[129] P. Horn & G. Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine* (Berlin, 1891), pp. 37–38.
[130] Cf. *apastām*, "Zuflucht," H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* II (Uppsala, 1931), p. 16; *apestī*, Paruck, p. 274.
[131] *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 51.
[132] E.g., at al-Rayy in 101, 104, 110 and 116 H. (*NHR*, nos. 26–28, 30); and for others, with or without mint name, cf. *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, index.
[133] G. C. Miles, *Contributions to Arabic Metrology*, I (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 141, N.Y., 1958), index.

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b) *Uncertain Mint*

55. Anonymous. 11x H. (?) = 728–737 A.D. (?). Mint effaced. Bronze.

Crude bust, r., with tall headdress. On breast o°o°o. At l., downward محمد; at r., downward (faint) رسول الله. Across face, upward محمد. Double beaded border.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريك...
Margin: بسم الله.....عشر(؟)ومئة
Beaded border with annulets (?).

NR–2–3b Æ 21. PLATE XVIII

It is a great pity that the reverse of this truly remarkable coin is not completely preserved so that the mint and exact date can be fixed. The word عشر is fairly certain, placing the issue probably in the teens of the 2nd century of the Hijrah; at all events it is after 99 H., because مئة is entirely clear. The combination of a bust of Sasanian inspiration (though no longer the "bust of Khosrau II") with a developed conventional post-reform reverse (one would normally call it the obverse since it bears the first part of the *shahadah* and the mint-date formula, but I have given precedence to the bust) presents an advanced stage of transitional hybrid. It would be interesting to know whether or not the word محمد across the face is a counterstamp or is on the die itself. Despite the fact that there appears to be no corresponding protuberance on the other side of the coin, I would judge that the word is a counterstamp and that it was intentionally applied to mutilate the face, which one may assume had by this time become distasteful to strict partisans of the nascent Islamic iconoclastic sentiment.

For coins with a somewhat similar bust in combination with a post-reform legend, cf. Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 155–159, p. 38, above.

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56. Uncertain. Ca. 80–120 H. = ca. 699–738 A.D. Uncertain mint. Bronze.

An obscure coin with 2 or 3-line legends on each face, the characters either Pahlevi or possibly Kufic engraved by a Pahlevi-writing artisan.

NR–1–59 Æ 22. PLATE XVIII

IV. POST-REFORM UMAYYAD

a) Iṣṭakhr

57. Anonymous. 130 H. = 747/8 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 185–189, p. 45 above, but there are evidences on both sides that the specimen was restruck on an earlier coin.

NR–2–30 Æ 21. PLATE XVIII

b) Wāsiṭ

58. Anonymous. 124 H. = 741/2 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له

Double linear border enclosing 5 annulets; outer broad linear border.

محمد
رسول
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بواسط سنة اربع وعشرين ومئة

Linear border enclosing area; linear border with 3 (of 5?) half annulets enclosing margin; outer broad linear border.

NR–1–48 Æ 20, 2.78. PLATE XVIII

Cf. Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 199–200, p. 48, above, probably the same, but obverse effaced.

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c) Uncertain Mint

59. Uncertain governor. Ca. 100–132 H. = ca. 718–750 A.D. Fals.

Usual formulae, no significant legends preserved.

NR–1–55 Æ 19.

V. ʿABBĀSID

a) Ardashīr-Khurrah (?)

60. Uncertain governor or anonymous. Date effaced. Mid-2nd. c. H. = ca. 750–790 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah (?). Fals.

Effaced except for obverse margin: ...ضرب هذا... بارد شـ...(؟).

NR–1–52 Æ 20.

b) Fasā

61. The Caliph al-Mahdi and Nuṣayr. No date. 158–169 H. = 775–785 A.D. Fasā. Fals.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 554–561, p. 73, above.

NR–2–3a Æ 20. PLATE XVIII

c) Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs

62-63. Anonymous. 161 H. = 777/8 A.D. Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs. Fals.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 603–608, p. 76, above, except that beneath obverse, ornament or letter: ﻫ.

NR–1–50 Æ 23, 2.30. PLATE XVIII
2–1 Æ 23. PLATE XVIII

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c) Madīnat al-Salām

64. Anonymous. 213 H. = 828/9 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Dirhem.

Similar to ***Berlin***, no. 1413.

NR–1–54 Æ 28 (frg., ½). PLATE XVIII

e) Mint Effaced

65. Uncertain governor. 15x = 768–776 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

Margin: ....(؟)مما امر به

Margin within dotted borders.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذ.... ....حسين ومئة

Margin within inner dotted border and outer beaded border. Annulets?

NR–2–50 Æ 21.

66. The Caliph al-Mahdi. 16x = 777–786 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Five annulets between thin inner and thick outer linear borders.

الخليفة [المهدى؟]
محمد
امير المؤ منين

Margin: بسم الله....ستين ومئة

NR–2–3c Æ 18.

67. Unidentifiable, probably ʿAbbāsid. 2nd c. H. = 8th c. A.D. Fals.

Almost completely obliterated.

NR–1–47 Æ 19.

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VI. ILKHĀNID

68. Abu-Saʿīd. No date. 716–736 H. = 1316–1336 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Within polygonal frame surrounded by linear border and border of dots:

بو
ا سعید
بهادر

Traces of ornament or legend.

NR–2–17 Æ 20. PLATE XVIII

Cf. Persepolis Terrace Excavations, no. 9, p. 87, above.

VII. ILKHĀNID OR SUCCESSOR

69. Uncertain ruler. Date effaced. 8th c. H. = 14th c. A.D. Uncertain mint. Bronze.

Within square enclosed by circle:

لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله

In center, within circle:

.....
ضر
ب

Margin: ....(؟)سلطان....
Outer linear border.

NR–2–59 Æ 21. PLATE XVIII

VIII. MUẒAFFARID

70. Shāh Shujāʿ. No date. 765–786 H. = 1363–1384 A.D. Shīrāz. Bronze.

Within double linear border and outer border of dots:

Within double linear border:

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شاه
شجاع

عا...(؟)
شيراز

NR–2–26 Æ 16. PLATE XVIII

Evidently unpublished.

71. The same. Shīrāz. Bronze.

Within polygon (?):

.....
السلطان المطاع
o شجاع o

Within double square:

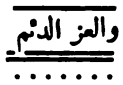
عدلية
شيراز

NR–2–54 Æ 21. PLATE XVIII

This type also evidently is unpublished. The title al-Mutāʿ is present on published silver coins of Shāh Shujāʿ.[134]

UNIDENTIFIABLE ISLAMIC

72. Coin or token of 9th c. H. (?) = 15th c. A.D. (?). Bronze.



Negative impression of obverse.

Linear border and outer border of dots.

NR–1–57 Æ 18.

73. Unidentified Islamic. Bronze.

No field record other than "Islamic."

NR–2–12 Æ 18.

[134] Cf. *B.M.* vi, nos. 671 ff.

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INVENTORY OF FIELD CATALOGUE NUMBERS

IṢṬAKHR

Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.
I-1-17	391	I-1-146	633	I-1-243b	22	I-1-336	258
31	623	148	31	245	176	337	31
34	633	149	138	248	31	339	23
55	623	150	173	252	391	341	633
63	344	160	391	252a	178	344	633
63a	146	166	146	257	364	354	391
63b	237	168	202	267	31	355	864
67a	31	170	180	276	344	358	581
67b	866	179	623	278	258	359	31
71	633	181	258	281	155	363	633
75	391	184	633	282	633	364	319
81	160	186	391	283	633	366	391
89	603	189	258	284	554	370	24
92	391	191	258	290	633	372	258
93	31	193	154	291	866	376	490
96	866	197	633	295	202	380	581
97	611	199	391	300	391	382	370
100	180	203	614	301	370	385	31
102	581	205	31	302	633	386	471
105	21	210	391	306	633	388	633
113	391	211	258	307	370	389	633
114	180	220	29	312	633	393	633
116	31	220a	31	312a	344	394	202
117	199	225	237	313	258	406	258
119	603	226	31	315	510	407	185
120	237	230	202	318	258	407a	581
126	237	231	31	319	202	407b	581
127	581	241	633	319a	633	412	623
131	370	241a	633	321	164	413	31
136	633	242	180	322	157	414	633
142	31	242a	180	325	24	424	31
143	143	243	258	333	258	425	391
145	258	243a	31	335	370	425a	866

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I–1–436	31	I–1–655b	391	I–1–911i	8	I–1–928/30	109
462	581	657	383	911j	8	928/31	109
464	603	657a	383	912	562	928/32	109
468	581	658	633	912a	633	928/33	109
474	633	659	258	913	633	929	391
475	581	660	202	914	13	929a	472
477	633	882	24	916	202	929b	391
481	258	883	31	918	24	932	478
484	258	884	391	919	391	933	866
485	258	885	138	919a	472	934	383
511	151	886	202	921	633	935	554
515	562	887	391	927	142	935a	391
516	391	889	633	928/1	103	936	364
519	633	890	202	928/2	103	937	370
521	391	892	258	928/3	103	938	499
529	633	893	344	928/4	103	938a	150
545	603	893a	391	928/5	103	940	31
561	391	894	2	928/6	108	941	30
562	562	895	327	928/7	108	942	31
572	31	896	258	928/8	109	943	31
573	31	897	16	928/9	109	948	391
575	202	898	633	928/10	109	I–2–13	866
591	31	901	391	928/11	109	114	866
598	31	902	391	928/12	109	249	177
602	522	903	190	928/13	109	278	633
604	391	905	562	928/14	109	542	861
626	173	906	344	928/15	109	1515	866
626a	258	906a	633	928/16	109	1516a	31
627	31	907	15	928/17	109	1516b	633
629	31	908	633	928/18	109	1518	196
631	31	908a	633	928/19	109	1519	616
635	24	909	151	928/20	109	1520/1	866
643	855	910	157	928/21	109	1520/2	633
645	391	911a	3	928/22	109	1520/3	510
646	258	911b	4	928/23	109	1520/4	633
647	31	911c	4	928/24	109	1520/5	258
652	31	911d	4	928/25	109	1520/6	258
653	562	911e	4	928/26	109	1520/7	478
654	185	911f	8	928/27	109	1520/8	633
655	554	911g	8	928/28	109	1520/9	633
655a	31	911h	8	928/29	109	1520/10	866

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Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.
I–2–1520/11	633	I–2–1520/52	866	I–2–1536a	633	I–2–1565	31
1520/12	522	1520/53	258	1536b	231	1566	31
1520/13	510	1520/54	510	1537	633	1567	866
1520/14	633	1520/55	633	1538a	866	1568	633
1520/15	562	1520/56	172	1538b	609	1569	364
1520/16	633	1520/57	258	1538c	633	1570	369
1520/17	633	1520/58	522	1539	633	1571	633
1520/18	522	1520/59	633	1540	866	1572	633
1520/19	633	1520/60	633	1541	633	1573	603
1520/20	866	1520/61	510	1542	156	1574	581
1520/21	633	1520/62	179	1543	319	1575	202
1520/22	633	1520/63	478	1544a	340	1576	31
1520/23	522	1520/64	633	1544b	237	1577a	31
1520/24	866	1520/65	490	1545a	866	1577b	866
1520/25	633	1520/66	522	1545b	633	1578	148
1520/26	522	1520/67	866	1545c	866	1579	144
1520/27	498	1520/68	522	1546	237	1580	866
1520/28	562	1520/69	617	1547a	230	1581	88
1520/29	522	1520/70	383	1547b	88	1582	477
1520/30	522	1520/71	522	1547c	866	1583	615
1520/31	866	1520/72	633	1548	866	1584	258
1520/32	522	1520/73	522	1549	20	1585	851
1520/33	633	1520/74	522	1550	391	1586	633
1520/34	522	1521	237	1551	237	1587	383
1520/35	327	1522	31	1552a	866	1588	612
1520/36	630	1523	633	1552b	499	1589	324
1520/37	522	1524	866	1553	866	1590	339
1520/38	633	1525	391	1554	581	1591	344
1520/39	258	1526a	165	1555	504	1592a	865
1520/40	522	1526b	633	1556a	237	1592b	581
1520/41	633	1527	185	1556b	633	1593	344
1520/42	866	1528	14	1556c	490	1594	202
1520/43	633	1529	237	1557a	478	1595	633
1520/44	633	1530	562	1557b	866	1596	145
1520/45	633	1531	866	1558	344	1597	866
1520/46	522	1532	866	1559	866	1598	344
1520/47	522	1533	554	1560	633	1599a	237
1520/48	522	1534	633	1561	323	1599b	866
1520/49	522	1535a	163	1562	31	1600a	31
1520/50	327	1535b	522	1563	31	1600b	633
1520/51	510	1535c	258	1564	1	1601	866

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I–2–1602	31	I–2–1634	866	I–2–1667b	633	I–2–1690d	510
1603a	344	1635a	633	1668	866	1691a	866
1603b	866	1635b	478	1669a	866	1691b	633
1604	31	1636	866	1669b	866	1691c	581
1605	866	1637	866	1670	633	1691d	633
1606a	88	1638	633	1671a	866	1692a	866
1606b	520	1639	327	1671b	562	1692b	522
1607	866	1640	633	1672	505	1692c	391
1608	633	1641a	866	1673a	866	1692d	391
1609	633	1641b	478	1673b	327	1692e	866
1610	562	1641c	327	1674	859	1693a	633
1611	391	1641d	633	1675	633	1693b	866
1612	506	1642	866	1676	866	1693c	633
1613	866	1643	391	1677	866	1693d	633
1614	370	1644	866	1678	337	1693e	866
1615	633	1645	623	1679	478	1693f	317
1616	633	1646	633	1680	522	1694a	258
1617	633	1647	391	1681a	866	1694b	866
1618	866	1648	633	1681b	633	1694c	633
1619	196	1649	633	1682a	474	1694d	866
1620	581	1650	866	1682b	866	1695	562
1621	391	1651a	201	1683	633	1696a	866
1622a	633	1651b	391	1684a	863	1696b	391
1622b	866	1651c	391	1684b	633	1697	391
1622c	562	1652	340	1685a	866	1698	633
1622d	633	1653	136	1685b	258	1699	633
1622e	866	1654	633	1685c	866	1700a	510
1623	866	1655	581	1686a	622	1700b	554
1624	391	1656	866	1686b	633	1701a	258
1625a	633	1657	853	1687a	521	1701b	623
1625b	31	1658	522	1687b	866	1702	391
1626a	866	1659	633	1687c	633	1703a	866
1626b	522	1660	633	1687d	633	1703b	391
1627a	344	1661	327	1687e	633	1703c	633
1627b	633	1662	633	1687f	866	1703d	633
1628	866	1663a	633	1688a	633	1703e	633
1629	633	1663b	31	1688b	554	1704	370
1630	866	1664	391	1689	562	1705	633
1631	633	1665	866	1690a	633	1706	344
1632	866	1666	613	1690b	633	1707	633
1633	88	1667a	391	1690c	866	1708a	866

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I–2–1708b	633	I–2–1732	102	I–2–1763a	859	I–2–1785e	31
1708c	866	1733	633	1763b	866	1786	167
1709	258	1734a	866	1764	237	1787	866
1710	31	1734b	581	1765	202	1788a	18
1711a	391	1735	138	1766	31	1788b	633
1711b	88	1736a	866	1767	370	1789	866
1712	391	1736b	202	1768	633	1790	135
1713	633	1737	391	1769a	866	1791b	88
1714	866	1738a	237	1769b	866	1791d	31
1715	88	1738b	202	1769c	202	1792a	88
1716	866	1739	191	1769d	258	1792b	31
1717	633	1740	581	1770	866	1793a	162
1718a	866	1741	391	1771a	391	1793b	167
1718b	866	1742a	866	1771b	258	1794	866
1719	633	1742b	194	1772a	866	1795a	31
1720a	866	1743a	364	1772b	633	1795b	160
1720b	633	1743b	866	1772c	633	1796a	31
1721	866	1744	499	1772d	522	1796b	88
1722	853	1745	391	1772e	167	1797	88
1723a	391	1746	633	1773	866	1798	31
1723b	633	1747	866	1774	503	1799	319
1723c	866	1748	866	1775	258	1800	370
1724a	633	1749	633	1776	866	1801	633
1724b	391	1750	866	1777	202	1802	258
1724c	866	1751	195	1778	490	1803	191
1725	198	1752	370	1779a	633	1804	185
1726a	258	1753	202	1779b	510	1805a	202
1726b	478	1754a	391	1780a	866	1805b	391
1726c	88	1754b	391	1780b	633	1806	633
1727	137	1755	167	1780c	633	1807	391
1728	138	1756	603	1780d	316	1808a	633
1729a	581	1757	866	1780e	619	1808b	231
1729b	324	1758a	258	1780f	633	1809	866
1729c	633	1758b	866	1781	633	1810	202
1730	633	1758c	499	1782	202	1811a	862
1731a	391	1759	633	1783	319	1811b	478
1731b	391	1760	858	1784	31	1812	202
1731c	866	1761	619	1785a	167	1813	633
1731d	391	1762a	237	1785b	88	1814	562
1731e	490	1762b	327	1785c	866	1815	633
1731f	317	1762c	522	1785d	88	1816	633

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Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.
I-2-1817	623	I-2-1841	231	I-2-1867a	866	I-2-1890	391
1818	490	1842	866	1867b	633	1891	633
1819	866	1843	344	1867c	866	1892	237
1820a	258	1844	633	1867d	633	1893a	866
1820b	633	1845	866	1868	478	1893b	866
1820c	866	1846a	364	1869	633	1894	17
1820d	522	1846b	633	1870	344	1895	633
1821	554	1847a	633	1871	866	1896	391
1822a	391	1847b	562	1872a	391	1897	340
1822b	866	1848	633	1872b	258	1898a	633
1822c	633	1849a	866	1873a	866	1898b	391
1823	633	1849b	631	1873b	258	1899	633
1824	866	1850	562	1874	391	1900	866
1825	633	1851	619	1875a	633	1901	850
1826	633	1852a	866	1875b	554	1902	866
1827a	866	1852b	258	1876a	633	1903	508
1827b	633	1853a	490	1876b	866	1904	866
1827c	866	1853b	391	1876c	202	1905	633
1828a	633	1853c	866	1876d	633	1906	202
1828b	633	1854	202	1877	633	1907	866
1828c	258	1855	391	1878a	633	1908a	474
1828d	866	1856	633	1878b	633	1908b	633
1829	633	1857a	489	1879a	866	1908c	633
1830	866	1857b	633	1879b	237	1909	633
1831	633	1858a	866	1879c	866	1910	633
1832	866	1858b	633	1879d	344	1911a	866
1833a	633	1859a	202	1880a	633	1911b	866
1833b	866	1859b	633	1880b	633	1911c	633
1833c	633	1859c	258	1881a	391	1911d	633
1834	866	1859d	866	1881b	866	1911e	866
1835	165	1860	633	1881c	344	1912	562
1836a	866	1861	391	1882	866	1913	866
1836b	344	1862	633	1883	258	1914	633
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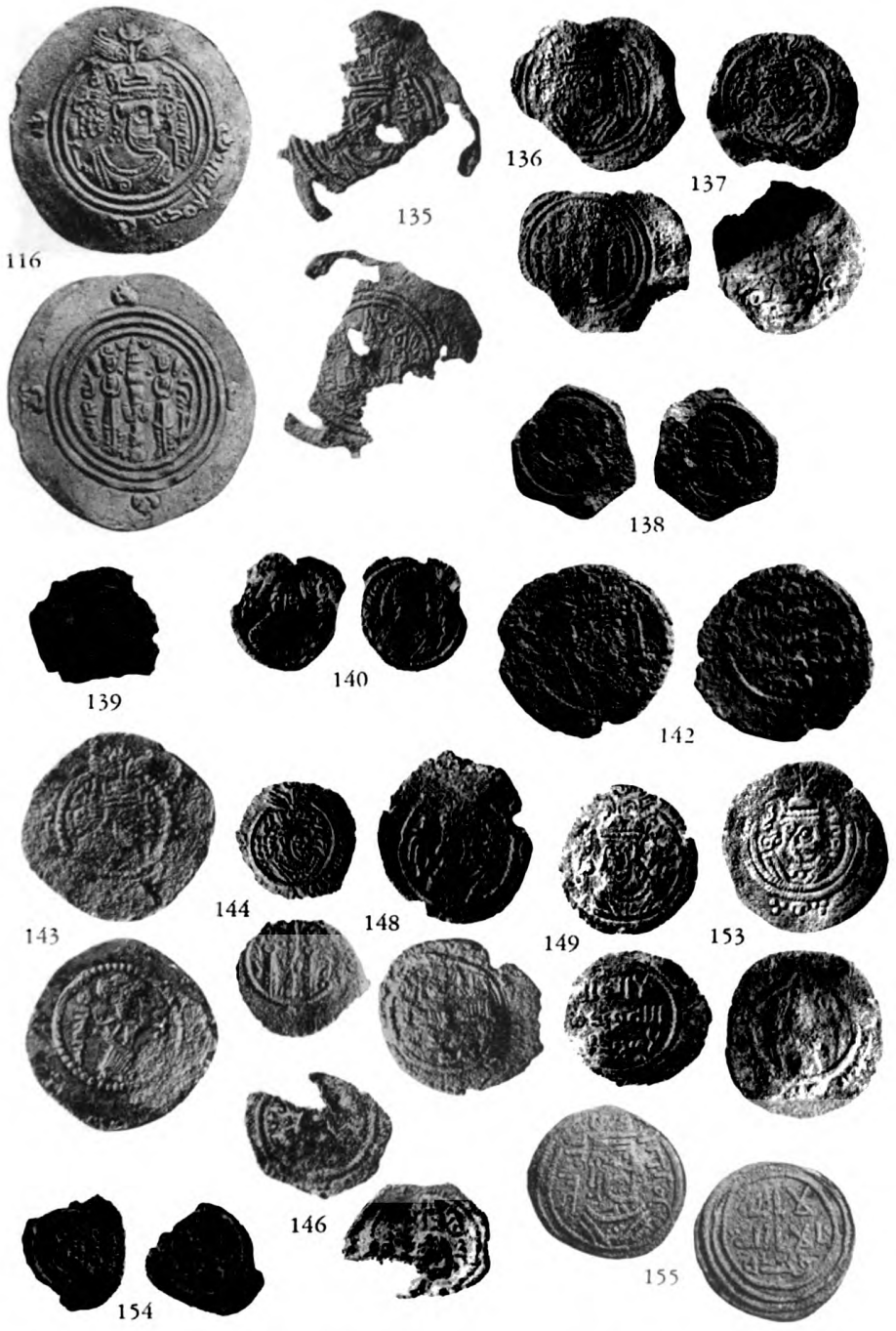
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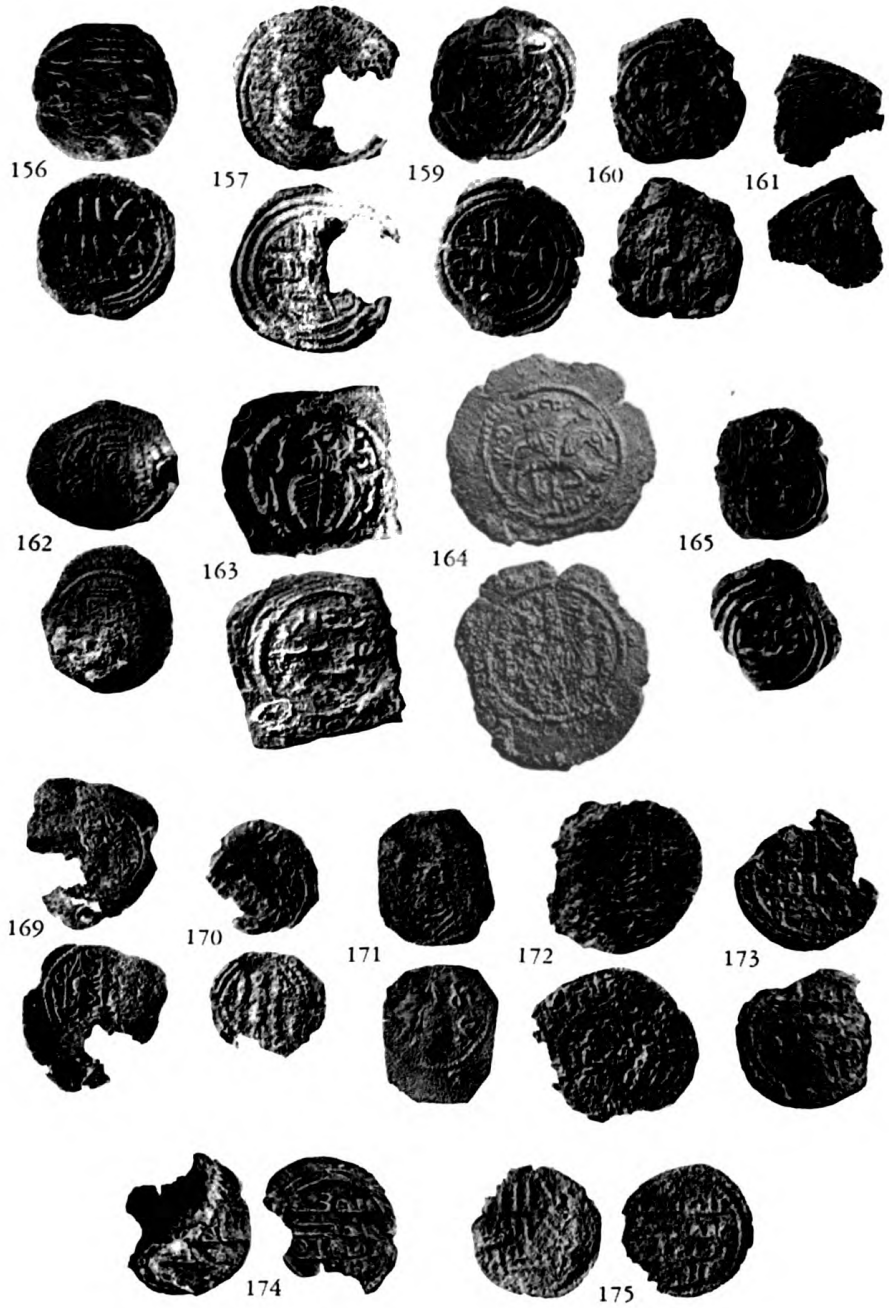


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IV



COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR

ARAB-SASANIAN

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COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR

176–177: BYZANTINE

178–195: UMAYYAD

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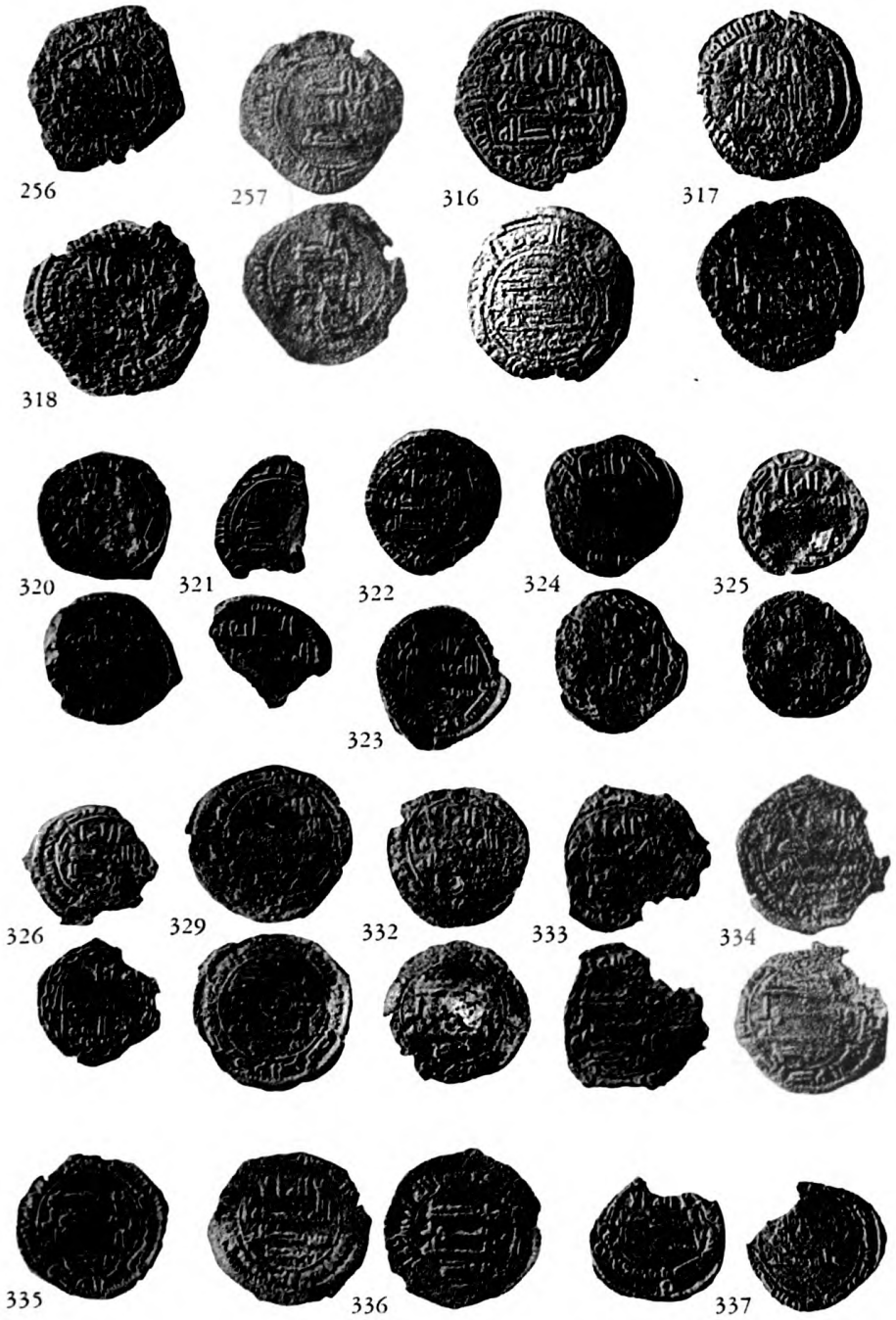
VI



COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR

UMAYYAD

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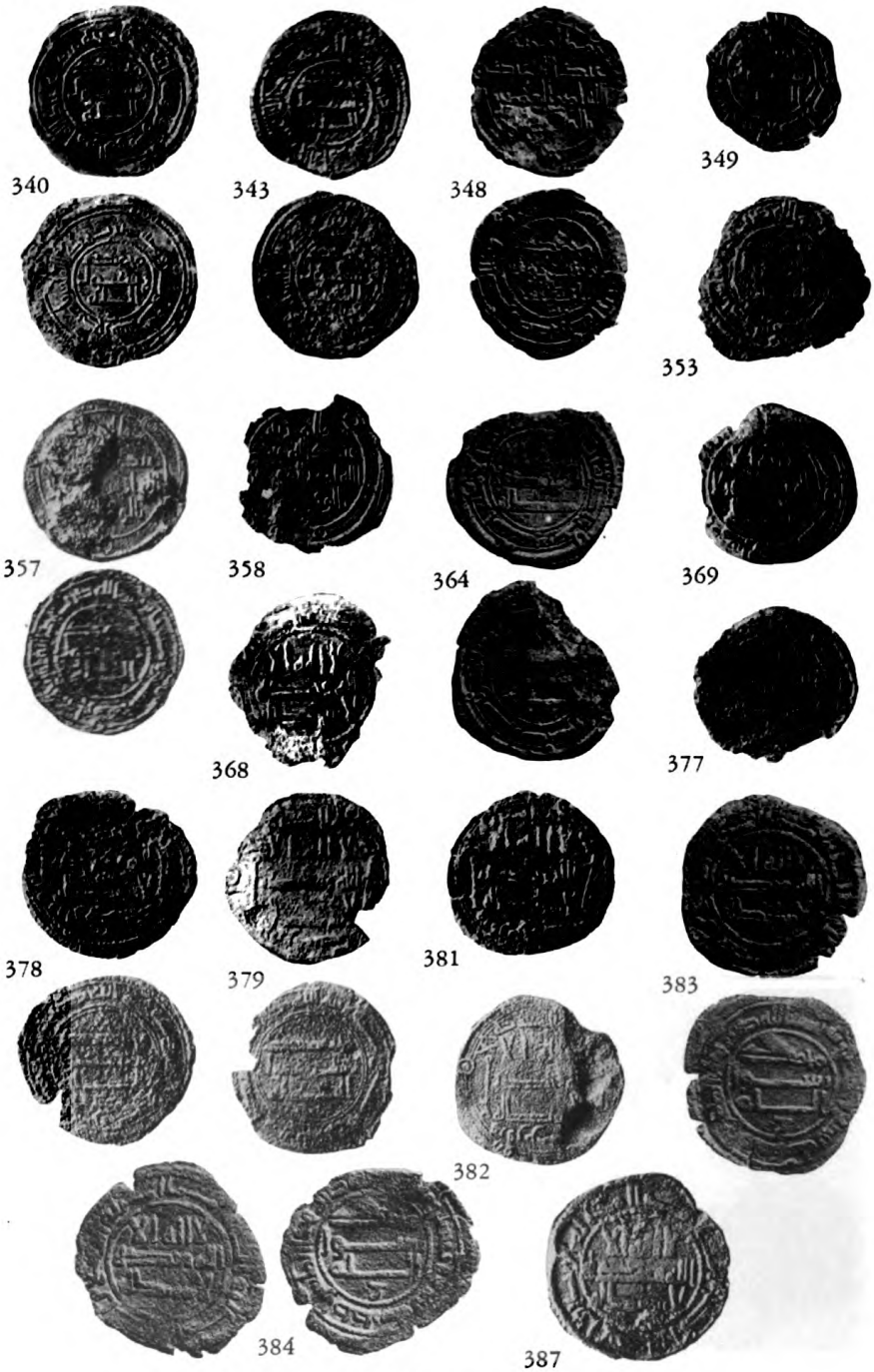
COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR

256–257: 'ABBĀSID PARTISANS

316–337: 'ABBĀSID

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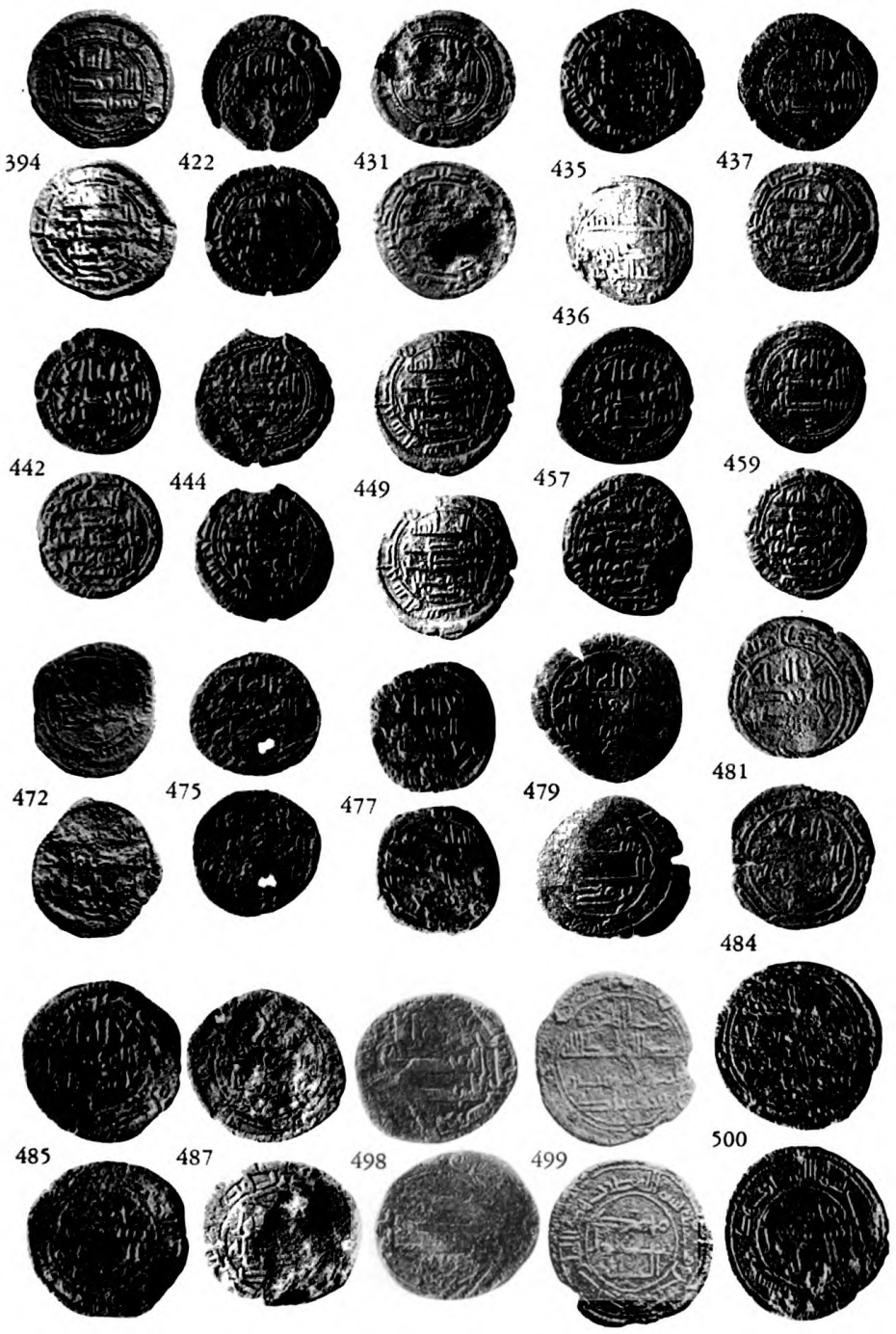
VIII



COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR

'ABBĀSID

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'ABBĀSID

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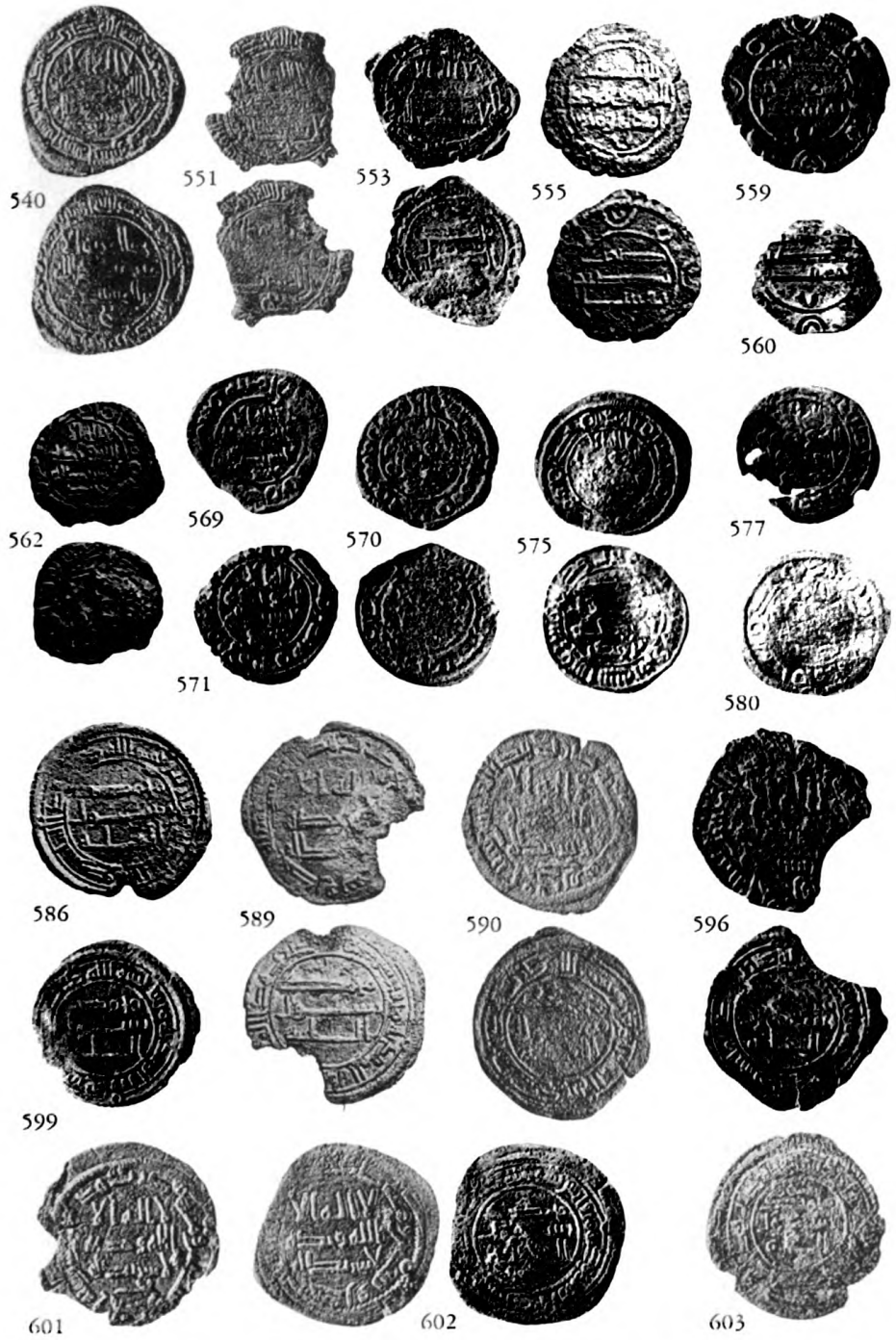
X



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'ABBĀSID

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'ABBĀSID

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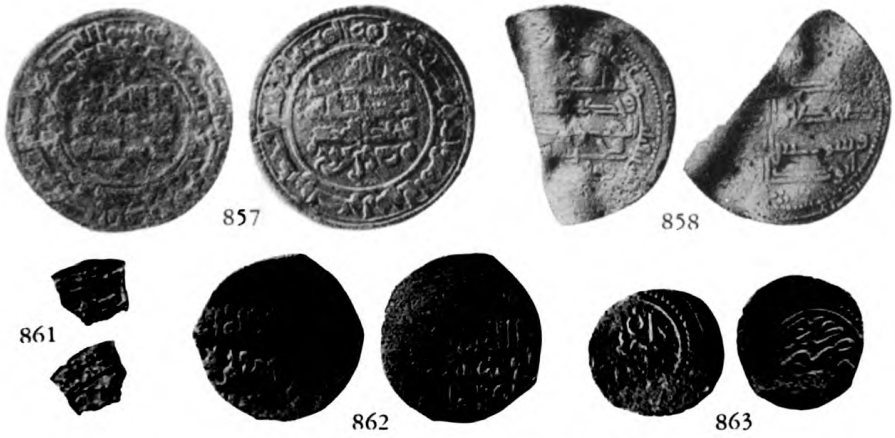
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COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR

'ABBĀSID

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COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR

857: SĀMĀNID 858: BŪYID 861: SELJŪQ 862–863: ILKHĀNID

PT



COINS FROM PERSEPOLIS

1–2: SASANIAN 3: ARAB-SASANIAN

4: UMMAYAD 5–7: 'ABBĀSID

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XIV



COINS FROM PERSEPOLIS

10: ILKHĀNID
14: MUẒAFFARID
15: TĪMŪRID
16–17: AUTONOMOUS PERSIAN

NR



COINS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

1: PERSIS
2–8: SASANIAN

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COINS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

10–16: SASANIAN 30: ARAB-SASANIAN

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XVI



COINS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

ARAB-SASANIAN

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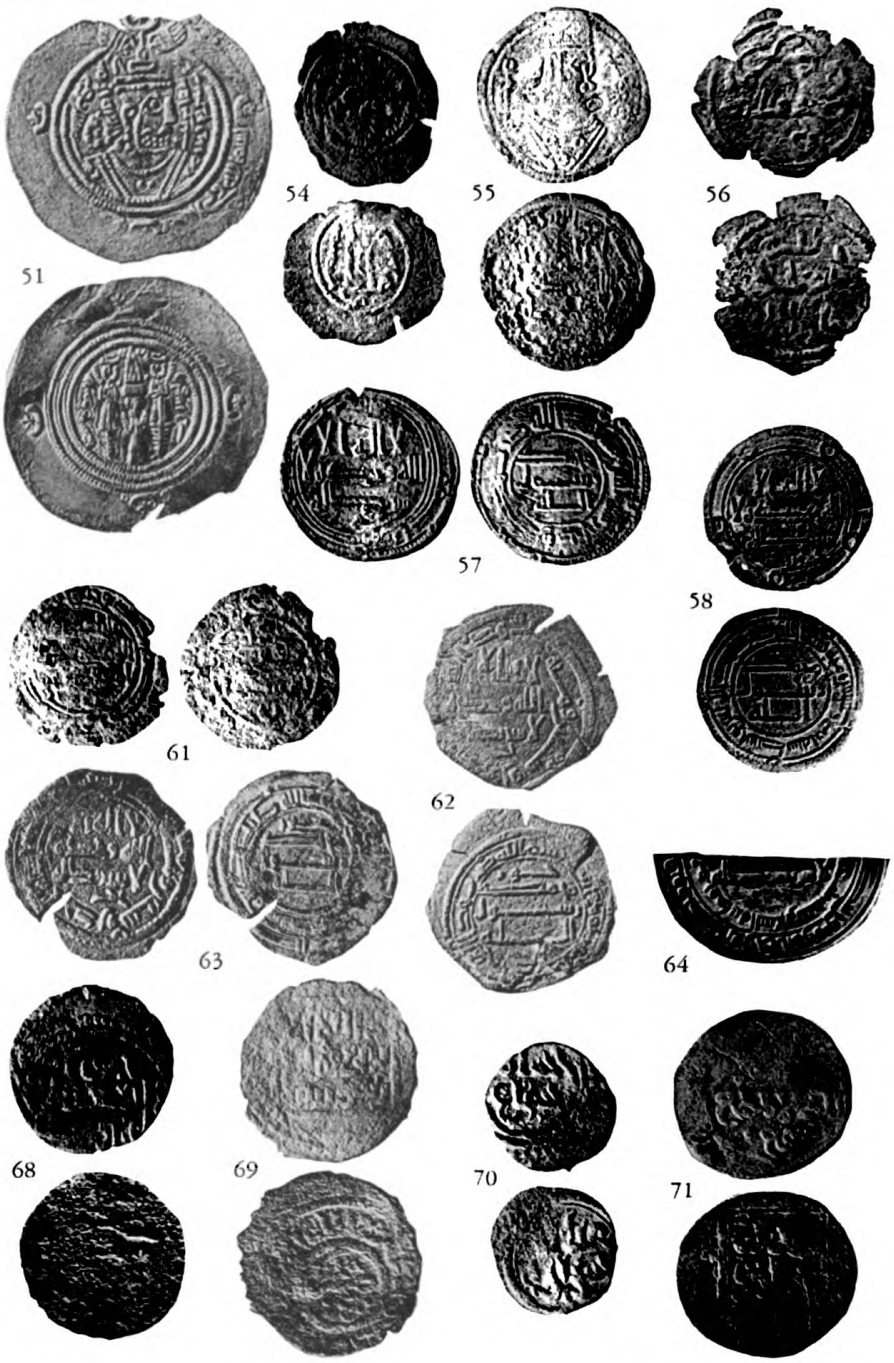


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ARAB-SASANIAN

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XVIII



COINS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

51–56: ARAB-SASANIAN 57–58: UMAYYAD

61–64: 'ABBĀSID 68–69: ILKHĀNID 70–71: MUẒAFFARID

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XIX



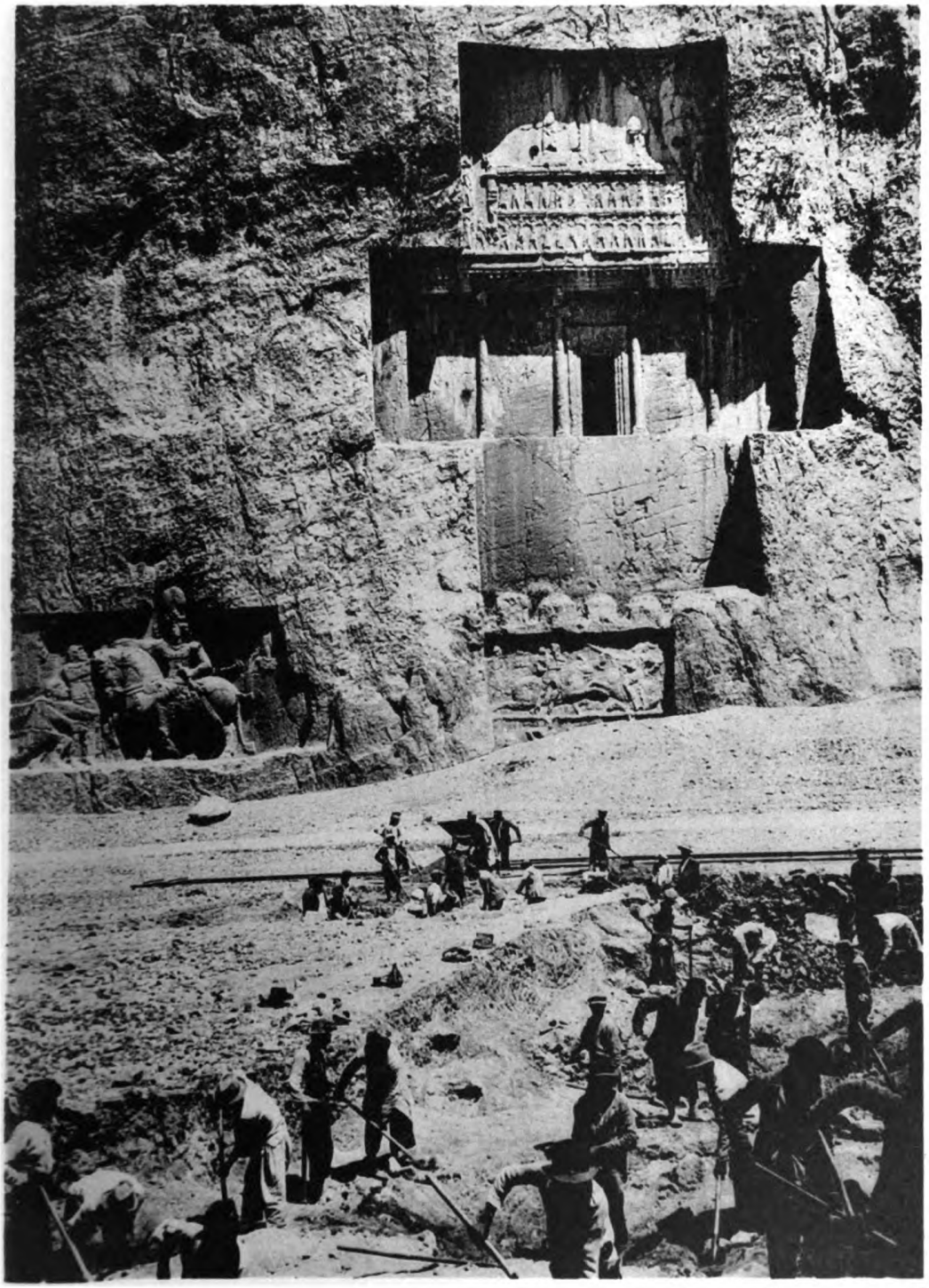
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NAQSH-I RUSTAM

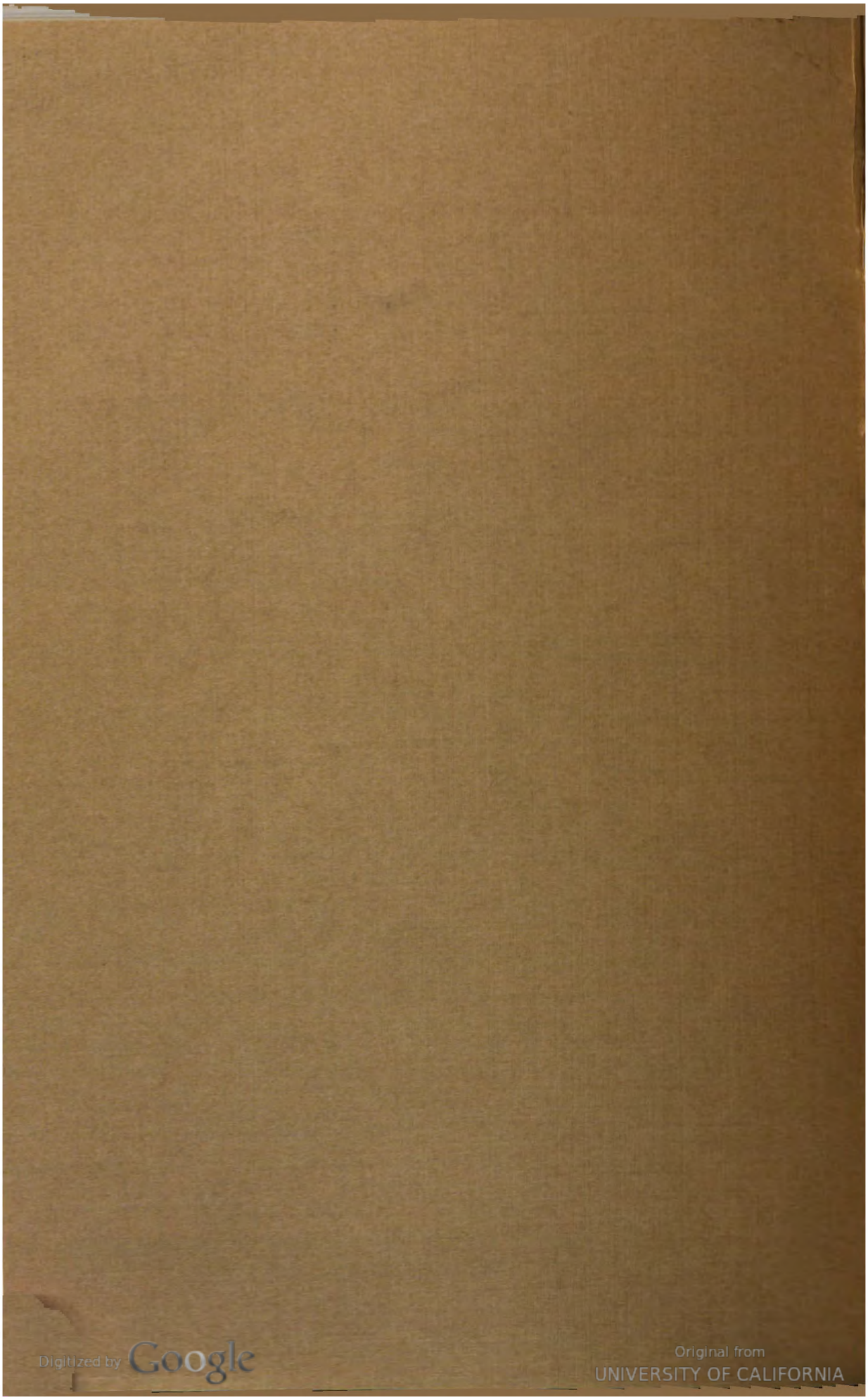
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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 144

THE NUMISMATIC ICONOGRAPHY OF JUSTINIAN II

(685-695, 705-711 A.D.)

By JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
NEW YORK
1959

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Founded 1858 · Incorporated 1865

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH & 156TH STREETS

NEW YORK 32, N. Y.

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Number 144

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The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II

(685-695, 705-711 A.D.)

By JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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Not without virtues was the prince.

Who is?

– J. H. Leigh Hunt

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FOREWORD

Even at this late date, it sometimes seems that the value of numismatic evidence for art-historical studies is something more often acknowledged than exploited; nonetheless, each year finds more thorough use being made of numismatic material by scholars in that field, while numismatists themselves are more apt than formerly to see that the findings of the art historians can be of use to them in their own studies. The writer knows of no other single problem, however, in which the two disciplines are more closely interrelated, and in which the solution involves such a degree of interpretation of material from each field in terms of the other, than the one under examination here. For accepting for publication in this series a study of this sort, which sometimes ranges far afield from the normal concerns of purely numismatic research, the writer is deeply appreciative of the consideration given by the Publication Committee of the American Numismatic Society.

The problem which forms the focal point of the present study was first set forth in relevant terms over two decades ago by Professor André Grabar of the Collège de France; the writer owes a great debt to Professor Grabar for guidance through his writings, his teaching, and his counsel during the course of the preparation of this study. Some of its conclusions were presented in a preliminary way in Professor Grabar's seminar at the École des Hautes Études in 1951, while a more final but still more summary account was given at the Symposium on the Byzantine Seventh Century held at Dumbarton Oaks in 1957.

This study was prepared originally in the form of a doctoral dissertation, under the direction first of Professor A. M. Friend, Jr., and then of Professor Kurt Weitzmann, to whose generous help and assistance its completion is largely owed. Professor Ernst Kitzinger has taken a kind interest in the findings, with the result that the present paper is undoubtedly far sounder than it would otherwise have been; Professors Paul A. Underwood and Glanville Downey have given of their knowledge and critical advice, as have Messrs. Cyril

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A. Mango, Basil Laourdas and Ihor Ševčenko in various ways. In bringing this manuscript into form for publication, the advice, suggestions and corrections of Professor Alfred R. Bellinger have been invaluable.

Numismatic experts and curators have been most helpful in extending the facilities of their institutions and making available their funds of knowledge; the writer must acknowledge particular indebtedness to Dr. George C. Miles and Mrs. A. A. Boyce, and to M. Jean Lafaurie of the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale. Study in Paris would have been far more arduous without the cherished facilities of the Institut Byzantin and the skilled assistance of its staff, under M. Boris Ermolov.

Such specific acknowledgements can only partially indicate the full indebtedness of the writer to the many friends and scholars, all of whom have had a part in the pursuit of this problem; an attempt is made to recognize specific contributions at relevant points in the footnotes. Any scholarly work is a mosaic of contributions from many sources, written and verbal, published and suggested, all of which go to make up the final synthesis; but, as in the creation of a mosaic picture, the responsibility for the final result is not with the contributors of the individual tesserae, but with the person who puts them together in the hope of forming a coherent whole. For the faults and errors which may exist in the text which follows, the writer must accept sole responsibility.

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INTRODUCTION

Justinian II was the first Byzantine emperor to place the image of Christ on his regular official coinage.[1] When he took this step, furthermore, he used not one but two quite different representations of the physical appearance of Christ. The precedent thus created was ignored by his successors, however, and the Christ-image disappeared again from the Byzantine coinage for a century and a half, while the Eastern Empire was torn by the Iconoclastic Controversy; then, almost immediately upon the Restoration of the Images in the middle of the ninth century, one of Justinian II's two coin types of Christ was copied almost line for line by the die-cutters of Michael III, and thereafter became the prototype of one of the Christ representations which became normal on imperial Byzantine coins from the ninth century on.

These facts have long been well known, and the importance of

[1] That is to say, the image of Christ as a coin-type of and by itself, on a numismatic issue intended for general circulation. The figure of Christ had appeared on Byzantine coins already, however, to judge by the unique solidus of Marcian and Pulcheria in the Hunterian Collection, illustrated by George Macdonald, *Coin Types, Their Origin and Development*, Glasgow, 1905, pp. 233–5 & Pl. IX, 8. This coin, which bears on the obverse an image of Marcian, in armor, three-quarters facing, has for reverse type the figures of emperor and empress standing, with Christ behind and between them, placing a hand on each of their shoulders. The reverse legend is "FELICITER NUBTIIS."

The significance of the type has been elucidated, *loc. cit.*, along the following lines: Whereas Christ on this coin assumes the place taken in Roman iconography by Juno Pronuba, He specifically replaces the figure of Theodosius II as seen on a coin celebrating the marriage of Valentinian III and Eudoxia in 437 A. D. Christ appears on the later coin (dated ca. 450) because the marriage was one of form only, the bride having taken irrevocable vows of chastity at an early age; she married only to continue the imperial succession. Christ as depicted on this coin, insofar as can be determined given its worn condition, has the rounded skull, long face, beard, and cross-nimbus familiar in fifth-century Italian art of other media.

In any event, this coin, which must have been struck in very limited quantity, had no immediate influence on Byzantine coin-types, or on the imperial Christian iconography: Christ appears here for a specific symbolic reason, and not because of any function He performs in a more generalized way for the Christian religion, or for the Christianized imperial cult.

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Justinian II's innovation is generally recognized; but it has been more difficult to ascertain the meaning placed in his action at the time it was taken. In recent years, increased attention has been given Justinian II's issues by a group of scholars whose special concern is the theory of icon-worship developed by the iconophiles of the eighth and ninth centuries.[2] While the interest shown by these iconophiles in Justinian II's use of the Christ image is of great importance to an understanding of the fully developed image theory, much less is known about the actual background, political, theological, or whatever it may have been, of Justinian II's own actions; in other words, whereas the ninth century's evaluation of seventh-century practice is important in understanding eighth- and ninth-century attitudes toward images in general, it is considerably more difficult to apply this same eighth- or ninth-century evaluation to the seventh century itself.

This is not to say that our understanding of what was developing with regard to attitudes and practices of religious art in the seventh century has not advanced markedly in recent years, not least as a result of the above-mentioned researches.[3] Until now, however, no

[2] The pioneering work on the subject was André Grabar's *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936. Certain of Grabar's ideas were developed, with other original ones, by P. Lucas Koch in a series of articles, "Zur Theologie der Christusikone," *Benediktinische Monatsschrift* XIX, 1937, pp. 375–387; *ibid.* XX, 1938, pp. 32–47, 168–75, 281–8, and 437–52; and, most important to our subject, "Christusbild-Kaiserbild," *ibid.* XXI, 1939, pp. 85–105. Developing ideas he had already begun to publish in Germany, Gerhard B. Ladner wrote the important "Origin and Significance of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *Mediaeval Studies* II, 1940, pp. 127–49; and, since, "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* VII, 1953, pp. 1–34. Still more recently we have the significant paper by Ernst Kitzinger, "The Cult of the Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* VIII, 1954, pp. 83–150; cf. esp. his remarks, p. 128, on the importance, as well as the weaknesses, of Grabar's, Koch's, and Ladner's contributions. Most recent of all is Grabar's *L'iconoclasme byzantin, dossier archéologique*, Paris, 1957, which overlaps and somewhat antedates, in composition, parts of Kitzinger's work.

[3] Cf. the article by Kitzinger just cited, with his "On Some Icons of the Seventh Century," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 132–150, and Grabar's *L'iconoclasme*. Symptomatic of growing scholarly interest in the pre-Iconoclastic period was the Symposium on Byzantium in the Seventh Century, held at Dumbarton Oaks in May, 1957, at which parts of the present work were read in abridged form.

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attempt has been made to study the coins of Justinian II in a thorough way from the numismatic standpoint, with a view to applying our new knowledge of their own and later periods, and their possible relation to pre-Iconoclastic image-theory.

The pre-Iconoclastic age was a pivotal one, not only for the Byzantine Empire, but for all of what we know as Europe. The very scarcity of the material from which we must reconstruct a picture of the epoch serves to show us just how critical its position was. We are well enough informed about the era of Justinian the Great, a period in the course of which we may perceive the beginnings of the evolution of the Roman Empire into its mediaeval form. But we are far less *au courant* with events in each subsequent decade. With the coming of Heraclius, and the first of a new series of battles with the resurgent Orient, a veil begins to fall over the Byzantine Empire, through which we can dimly discern men and events, but little of the institutions and ideas that gave them life. When, in another hundred years, the Isaurian emperors had succeeded in beating off the Moslem onslaught, the curtain begins to lift. The stage is the same, but all else, characters, scenery, dialogue, the whole frame of reference has changed immeasurably.

Clearly all this did not happen overnight, in the eighth century. A great deal of research has been devoted to the study of these new institutions which we see in operation under the Isaurians,[4] and all of it has served to illustrate how much of the modification of the structure of the Empire took place in the century before Leo III, the years between the great Persian invasion of Syria around 613, and the final unsuccessful Moslem attack on Constantinople in 717 A. D. The new administrative system of the themes, integrating civil and military administration; the new agrarian laws, adjusting conceptions of prop-

[4] Cf. for example G. Ostrogorsky, "Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (hereafter *BZ*) XXX, 1929–30, pp. 394–401; G. Vernadsky, "Sur les origines de la Loi agraire byzantine," *Byzantion* II, 1926, pp. 169–80; a good summary, with bibliography to date, is Ostrogorsky's chapter in the *Cambridge Economic History* I, Cambridge, 1941, pp. 579–83. Most recently, Ostrogorsky has arrived definitely at a Heraclian date for the composition of the Book of the Themes: "Sur la date de la composition du Livre des Thèmes et sur l'époque de la constitution des premiers thèmes d'Asie Mineure," *Byzantion* XXIII, 1953, pp. 31–66. According to Ostrogorsky, the "Nomos Georgikos" was probably published under Justinian II himself.

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erty and ownership to the new realities of a ravaged countryside; these and many other details, large and small, of Byzantine life can be demonstrated, or may be hypothesized, to have had their origins in the century which followed the advent of Heraclius.

The final stage of this transition, it is clear from our evidence, was taking place under the last ruler of the Heraclian Dynasty, Justinian II. His two reigns, interrupted and followed as they were by periods of anarchy which prepared the way for the new strong man, Leo the Isaurian, provided despite their difficulties the last period before the Iconoclasm when the Byzantine government enjoyed sufficient stability to concern itself not only with civil administration and policy, but also with religious practices.

In the matter of the art of the period, we find a situation directly parallel to that just described with regard to its political history. The Isaurians brought with them a new attitude toward the Christian religion and its art, an attitude which we call Iconoclasm. They left an indelible imprint upon the character of Byzantine art, religious and secular. Yet the very nature of the Iconoclastic movement erased a great deal of the evidence which would tell us what came before it, and consequently whence the Iconoclastic attitude itself derived.

Just as recent research has pushed the origins of the Isaurian legislative system back a century, so we can see now that Iconoclasm itself did not spring like a weed from untilled soil. Rather is it true that the conflict had been preparing itself for decades in the minds of men, within and without the boundaries of the Empire; and what happened to religious art, in its theory and in its practice, in the course of the seventh century, was of the greatest importance in determining the rise of the opposite viewpoint, Iconoclasm.

The evolution of religious art in this period just prior to the Iconoclasm has a further interest, inasmuch as it formed the basis for the concepts used by the Orthodox party against the Image-Breakers, and supplied the concrete examples necessary for the formulation of regular Orthodox icon-theory; not only that, but surviving examples, and memories, of this art evidently provided the point of departure for the new religious art which flowered almost immediately upon the Restoration of the Images, in the ninth century.

The problem posed for the art historian by this period immediately before the advent of the Isaurian Dynasty, as may be seen from the

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foregoing, is that of ascertaining in the first place what monuments survive from that period, and secondly what those monuments can tell us about the character and tendencies of the arts of that time. It is, thus, a problem of extremely broad scope, considered from the point of view of geographical distribution alone. This was perhaps the last moment at which we may consider the art of the Mediterranean basin to have presented a fundamental, though naturally not homogeneous, whole; in all the lands of the Byzantine Empire, whether or not its political rule was still felt, its artistic hegemony was evident. The questions raised about the character of this art can only be answered satisfactorily when all the arts of the period, toward the close of the seventh century, have been studied and compared in detail.

History has played us the trick, at just this point, of erasing the center of the disc of the Empire, leaving us only fragments of its rim. At all times, Constantinople was unquestionably the most active center of the creative arts of the Eastern Empire; its influence could not but have been felt in all the peripheral areas with which it was in contact. Only through appreciating the importance of this essential unity can we explain the changes and evolutions of such provincial art as has been preserved, changes which are rarely the result of independent progress, but rather show every sign of being dependent upon the dynamic central source.[5]

There are certain of the provincial areas where we may, in time, be able to assemble sufficient data to clarify this aspect of the problem. In Italy, and particularly in Rome, the Popes were frequently active in the fields of construction and decoration, as the tattered palimpsest of S. Maria Antiqua bears witness; one of the most active Popes in this respect was John VII, and the art produced during his brief reign, contemporary with that of Justinian II, should provide valuable evidence, if only by inference, of what influences were reaching Italy from the East at that time.[6]

[5] Kitzinger's article "On Some Icons...", cited above, n. 3, demonstrates this dependence of Roman art upon the Constantinopolitan in a strong way, especially (p. 138) with reference to the period of Pope John VII (705–707) when Constantinopolitan influences had hitherto been thought to have been weakest, and Roman art at its most autonomous.

[6] Cf. for Roman art of this period the basic study by Kitzinger, *Römische Malerei vom Beginn des 7. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, n. d. (1936).

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In Greece, and especially at Thessalonika, there would appear to have been a good deal of activity in the arts, but here problems of attribution and dating present greater difficulties in drawing precise parallels for purposes of comparison. The same is true of Egypt, in the present state of our knowledge, for although it is generally agreed that Coptic art remains subject to recurrent waves of influence from the Empire long after Egypt's conquest by the Moslems, the lack of an established chronology, within even a century for the most part, makes analysis and comparison extremely difficult. Yet it is probable that the only way in which these problems of Coptic chronology will one day be solved is by just such correlations between Coptic monuments and established and dated works outside Egypt.[7]

Finally, our documents tell us enough about relations between the Byzantine emperors and the Umayyad caliphs, as well as between their subjects at more humble levels, for us to be fully aware of the dependence of Umayyad art in its more formative stages upon the Byzantine traditions which it supplemented. The happy discoveries made in the Near East in recent years, as well as the generally resurgent position of Islamic studies, give great hope that our knowledge of Byzantine as well as Sassanian art will be vastly increased as more Islamic material becomes available.[8]

The purpose of any one study, at the present stage of our knowledge, could however scarcely embrace with profit all these scattered fields of artistic production. In view of the nature of the central problems of pre-Iconoclastic religious art, the most pressing need is to establish what can be known about the art actually produced in the imperial circle itself; and in the period which concerns us, the surviving

[7] On the situation at Thessalonika in and about the time of Justinian II, cf. J. D. Breckenridge, "The 'Long Siege' of Thessalonika: Its Date and Iconography," *BZ* XLVIII, 1955, pp. 116–22, with bibliography on just one problem concerning the decoration of the church of S. Demetrios.

With regard to Coptic art, again the work of Kitzinger is fundamental: "Notes on Early Coptic Sculpture," *Archaeologia* LXXXVII, 1937, pp. 181ff. At present, Hjalmar Torp is engaged upon studies of Coptic art which, it is hoped, will produce a better absolute and relative chronology. In addition, much valuable material is being recovered and documented by the Princeton-Michigan expeditions to the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai.

[8] Grabar has added much to our knowledge of the interrelations of Byzantine and Islamic art by the material assembled in *L'iconoclasme*, esp. Chapter IV, & pp. 103–112. In addition, we may look forward to a contribution by Oleg Grabar, in *Ars Orientalis* III, 1958.

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imperial art, with negligible exceptions, is exclusively that of the coinage. It is for this reason that the following study is undertaken on a numismatic basis; its objective is the establishment of the following facts about the emperor's coinage:

> First, what numismatic issues were struck under his reign, in what sequence, and at what dates;
> Second, what meaning or meanings these coins were intended to convey, and hence
> Third, what the reasons may have been for issuing them.

It should be possible, in the light of this information, to clarify some of the attitudes held by official, that is to say, by state and ecclesiastical circles, concerning religious images, and particularly their use in the state cult. From this, it is to be hoped that something may be deduced about the wider context of the religious art of the time, about the spirit which manifests itself through both style and content as an expression of the outlook of the age. From this material, it may be hoped that future research will have one more tool with which to attack some of the major problems of the history of Byzantine art.

As a first step in this exposition, it is necessary to provide a brief historical survey of the principal events of Justinian II's reign, insofar as they may be seen to have a bearing upon his numismatic activities.[9] The reign of Justinian II, whose full name was Flavius

[9] The historical exposition given here goes into more detail than would otherwise be necessary, both because much of the following has a bearing upon the numismatic evidence, and because none of the available modern studies are thorough enough in their examination of the period to furnish an absolutely reliable narrative and chronology of events. It has been necessary to reexamine all the sources, and to make a few new interpretations of their information, in order to clarify all the problems raised about the sequence of Justinian II's art and coinage.

The most important single source is the Chronography of Theophanes, written in the years 810–815 A. D.: *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883. His contemporary, the Patriarch Nicephorus, who held the See of Constantinople from 806 to 815, wrote a somewhat less detailed account of events from the time of Maurice (582–602) to his own day: *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula Historica*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1880. These two chronicles may be supplemented by that of Michael the Syrian, who was Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch from 1166 until 1199, and who supplies some information not available in the histories just cited: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, Paris, 1899–1924.

The accounts of these historians, who shared many of the same sources, are generally followed by later Byzantine and Syrian chroniclers, from whom

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Justinianus, began upon the death of his father Constantine IV, sometime during the summer of 685 A. D.; he was then sixteen years old.[10] The Empire was at that time in sounder condition than had been the case for some decades; Constantine IV had beaten off the first high-watermark assault of the Moslem power in the protracted siege of Constantinople between 673 and 677, and reasserted the strength of the Orthodox faith at the Sixth Oecumenical Council, held at the capital in 680–681. This Council condemned the Monothelete heresy which, while accepting the two Persons of Christ, preached only one will or operation in the personality of Christ; this heresy had been warmly espoused by the preceding emperor, Constans II, and accepted by one Roman Pope, Honorius, whom the Council therefore condemned as a heretic. Of Constantine IV's various actions to strengthen the Empire, the only one which was less than a resounding success was his campaign of 679 against the Bulgars, who had

we can derive little or no new information except from an occasional indirect reference, or a not infrequent blunder, usually mistaking Justinian II for Justinian I or Justin I or II. Far more nearly contemporary to the events described than any of the aforementioned is the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886, which supplies information on events taking place in Italy, but is not always completely reliable in its accounts of what was transpiring at Constantinople and elsewhere in the East. Material upon one episode of Justinian II's second reign is found in Agnellus' biography of Archbishop Felix of Ravenna, written in the ninth century: *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. Holder-Egger, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, Hannover, 1878, pp. 367–71. Finally, there is the text of the church council held under Justinian II: J.-D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* IX, cols. 921–1007.

The nearest thing to a modern study of Justinian II is found in the essay by Charles Diehl, "L'empereur au nez coupé," in *Choses et gens de Byzance*, Paris, 1926, pp. 173–211, which also exists in a privately-printed English translation. This article follows literally and rather uncritically the accounts of Theophanes and Nicephorus. (Only slightly more romanticized is a drama by Alexandre Embiricos, *L'Empereur au nez coupé: Chronique byzantine en cinq actes*, Paris, 1929, ambitious and elaborate enough to tax any theater smaller than the Yankee Stadium.)

In the highly condensed account of the reigns of Justinian II which follows, specific source references are not indicated except where a question of interpretation, or of disagreement between sources, arises.

[10] A brother of Justinian II, named Heraclius, is mentioned in a "Sacred Letter" from Constantine IV to Pope Benedict II, quoted in the *Liber Pont.* I, p. 363. The letter, which has not been preserved in the papal archives, presumably dated from late in the year 684. No further mention of this brother occurs; he may have died before Justinian II assumed the imperium.

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recently invaded the Balkans, and whom he was unable to dislodge from their new strongholds.

The first actions of Justinian II's new reign were designed to continue this procedure of strengthening the position of the Empire, both internally and in relation to allies and enemies abroad. To make plain his adherence to the tenets of strict Orthodoxy, he held a synod in the Great Palace to confirm the Acts of the Sixth Council.[11] In 688

[11] Documentary evidence for this Synod is scattered and, in part, confused; since inferences have been drawn about it which have a bearing upon Justinian II's presumed conception of his imperial function with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, we shall trouble to go into the problem:

The account of the Synod is first mangled by Theophanes, where, under A. M. 6177 (ed. de Boor, pp. 361–2), confusion was created by an uncertainty regarding the date of the later Quinisexte Council (cf. below, n. 14), and compounded by Theophanes' losing sight of the distinction between this Synod and that Council. The Synod is mentioned in the *Lib. Pont.* I, p. 368, which describes Pope Conon's receipt of Justinian's *sacra* regarding his Synod and its new text of the Acts of the Sixth Council; and the *sacra* itself is preserved and published by Mansi, *op. cit.* XI, cols. 737–8, at the head of one text of the Acts of the Sixth Council, the one which it had conveyed.

It has been suggested by F. Görres, "Justinian II und das römische Papsttum," *BZ* XVII, 1908, pp. 432–54, that Justinian II was abrogating the rights due the papal and patriarchal authority to publish the acts of an oecumenical council; thus this was the first move in a concerted caesaropapistic campaign by the young emperor to bring the See of Rome under the complete sway of his own authority. This seems rather an overstatement of the situation on several counts, the most important being the lack of evidence that at this period such publication *was* considered the particular prerogative of the ecclesiastical authorities; to the contrary, the initiative in each of the great church councils was taken by the reigning emperor, from Constantine I on, and he was never in any case considered to be infringing upon clerical rights by these actions. The emperor held *ex-officio*, in fact, the rank of deacon in the church hierarchy. In the same way, it was customary for the emperor to take the responsibility for circulating the completed acts of the councils. Although Rome shortly found reason to object to certain of Justinian II's actions, there is no indication that his promulgation of the texts of the Sixth Oecumenical Council was in any way disapproved.

The explanation for holding the Synod seems to be more simple. There is an indication that the volume of the Acts of the Sixth Council which was the property of the imperial palace had strayed from its place in the palace archives, and was found in the offices of the chancellery. (Cf. Mansi, *op. cit.* XII, cols. 189–96). When the volume was located and returned, it was deemed desirable that new copies, checked in every way for authenticity and accuracy, should be prepared—perhaps because, as the emperor intimates in his *sacra*, some falsified versions had been circulated (presumably by recalcitrant Monotheletes) while the original volume was missing from its rightful place.

Some misapprehension may have arisen, furthermore, because, early in 686, the ex-patriarch Theodore, who had been deposed by Constantine IV

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he conducted a major campaign against the Bulgars and Slavs in Macedonia, where he succeeded in relieving their pressure on the native populations. Finally, about the same time, he concluded a new treaty with the Moslems, on even more favorable terms than those secured by his father after the rout of 677;[12] his troops had been on the offensive along the southern borders, a fact which may have influenced the Moslems to buy a firmer peace, and his ablest general, Leontius, seized full control of Armenia and the rest of the sub-Caucasus, which had shown signs of slipping into the Moslem orbit.

In 692, however, this string of successes was broken when the Moslems, accusing the Byzantines of violating the terms of the treaty, invaded the province of the First Armenia, and defeated Justinian II's army at the battle of Sebastopolis. Whatever the ostensible cause of the Moslem attack,[13] its result was clear: Armenia surrendered to Moslem authority, and the Empire lost valuable prestige throughout the borderlands.

In the meantime, however, the emperor continued to concern himself with domestic affairs as well. He held a church council on a more ambitious scale than the synod of 686, in the same Trullan Hall of the Great Palace where the Sixth Council itself had met; since neither that nor the preceding Fifth Council of 553 had dealt with matters of church and lay discipline, this new council of Justinian II's, meeting in 692,[14] was intended to be simply a continuation of the proceed-

in 679 (on the eve of the Sixth Council) for his Monothelete views, had recanted and been restored to the See of Constantinople. Although Theodore behaved himself with utter circumspection during this second term of office, it might well have seemed desirable to take this dramatic way of demonstrating his adherence to full Orthodox tenets, as well as that of his emperor.

[12] Although Theophanes dates the new treaty with the Moslems at the beginning of Justinian II's reign, Moslem sources date it to A. H. 69/689 A. D.: H. A. R. Gibb, *s. v.* "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Ed. I:2, Leiden, 1954, pp. 76–7. In view of the unreliability of Theophanes' dating at this particular point, the Moslem chronology seems preferable.

[13] Cf. below, pp. 69ff., for an analysis of the various imputed causes of the rupture of Arab-Byzantine relations. Whatever the ostensible cause, it would appear obvious that the break took place simply because the Moslems were then secure enough to resume active hostilities once more, and so were prepared to make any reasonably adequate provocation serve their purpose.

[14] The dating of the Quinisexte Council has occasioned more difficulty than was necessary, largely because of the various conflicting methods of keeping dates in use at the time. For a discussion of the problem, cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles* III[1], pp. 560–1. J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman*

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ings of 681, concerning itself solely with bringing up to date this aspect of church affairs. It came to be known, therefore, as the Quinisexte Council. It issued one hundred and two canons dealing with all matters, lay and clerical, in which the authority of the Church needed to be applied or restated.[15]

These acts were drawn up, unfortunately, by a council of clergy drawn exclusively from Eastern dioceses, so that whenever a question of preference between the practices observed in the Eastern churches and those of other communions, such as the Armenian or the Roman, arose, the natural decision was in favor of the familiar one.

This may not have been of major importance with regard to the feelings of the Armenians—although it was the Patriarch of Armenia, Sabbatius, who surrendered his land to the Moslems the following year, and offense taken with Constantinople over these matters might conceivably have influenced his decision—but when it came to offending Rome, really serious matters were at stake. The principal points of difference on the theoretical level were the recognition of 85 Apostolic Canons, of which Rome acknowledged only 50, and the assertion of the equality of the bishops of Constantinople with those of Rome, an equality to which seniority of establishment did not entitle them. In matters of practice, the Council prohibited fasting on Saturdays, a Roman custom; it permitted the lower orders of the clergy to remain married, if already in that condition, a practice disapproved at least on principle by the Holy See; the command to abstain from blood and from the meat of strangled animals infringed upon certain Western customs; and finally, a decree that Christ should be repre-

Empire II, London, 1889, pp. 326–7, note 3, pointed out the confusion in Theophanes under A. M. 6177 (cited above, n. 11), where the chronicler had read correctly the date improperly preserved in the Acts of the Council (Mansi, *op. cit.* XI, cols. 921–1006), but failed to place it in the proper era; so Theophanes arrived at a date of 706 A. D. for the Council. He knew that this must be wrong, since the Council had taken place during Justinian's first reign; so he placed his account of the Council at the very beginning of that reign, taking advantage of the opportunity to confuse the Council with the Synod of 686, and to summarize the latter part of the Monothelete Controversy. The Quinisexte Council took place, as Leclercq shows, during Indictio V, that is, after September first 691 A. D.—but Leclercq, *op. cit.* III[1], p. 561, himself then errs in starting Indictio V in 692.

[15] For the Acts of the Council, cf. Mansi, *op. cit.* XI, cols. 921–1006; they are summarized in Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.* III[1], pp. 562–75. Our own discussion is below, pp. 78 ff..

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sented in human form, rather than as a Lamb, condemned one of the more common themes of symbolic early Christian imagery which had been quite popular in the West.

It would seem almost certain that the framers of these canons were not aware of the extent of their offense in the eyes of Rome;[16] the tone of the Acts conveys the impression that the Eastern bishops felt merely that their Western colleagues, in those troubled years, were in need of guidance on a few points where unfortunate political circumstances, such as barbarian invasions, had compelled temporary abandonment of the truly correct procedure.

Whatever the intentions and motivations of the framers of the canons may have been, the fact remains that the Acts of the Council were completed and duly signed by the emperor, as well as by the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, and by two hundred eleven other bishops and representatives of bishops; then they were forwarded to Rome. There, Pope Sergius, recognizing what he felt was an affront to his dignity as well as an abrogation of his powers and status, not only refused to sign the Acts, but forbade their publication in any church under his jurisdiction. The ensuing dispute dragged on for months, with action delayed by the long time required for communications to pass from East to West and back again; at length the emperor resorted to the expedient, successfully carried out by Constans II in 653, of kidnapping the Pope. On this occasion, the effort ended in a low-comedy debacle for the imperial agents, and the papal hand was strengthened rather than otherwise.

Justinian II had no further chance for reprisal against the Pope, for in 695 the emperor was overthrown by a coup led by his erstwhile general, Leontius.[17] The unpopularity engendered by Justinian's defeats at the hands of both the Caliphate and the Papacy had not been mitigated at home, where brutal ministers carried out a policy designed, perhaps, to weaken the traditional power of the nobility;

[16] On the other hand, F. Görres, *op. cit.*, sees these Canons, as well as almost everything else Justinian II did, as a direct attempt to impose the imperial authority on the papacy. As remarked above, n. 11, it is questionable whether the issue presented itself in this guise to either antagonist at the time.

[17] Following his conquest of Armenia, Leontius had been made general of Anatolia; but by 695, he had been under arrest for three years—which takes us back to the date of the battle of Sebastopolis, and suggests that he might have been blamed for that disaster.

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so the Constantinople mob flocked to the standard of revolt, and jeered in the Hippodrome while Justinian II was disfigured with slit nose and tongue, in token of deposition, and then exiled to Cherson in the Crimea.

Leontius ruled only three years, until 698, and the only major event of his reign was the military campaign which resulted in his downfall. The continuing expansion of Moslem territory led to the fall of Carthage in 697, and Leontius dispatched a powerful naval and military force to attempt its recapture. Although this expedition had some initial success, and even reoccupied the city, the Moslems in turn obtained reinforcements, frightened off the Byzantine fleet, and permanently took the city of Carthage in 698.

The unsuccessful armada, aware of its disgrace, decided its only hope of avoiding punishment was to rebel against its emperor; the rebels named one of their admirals, Apsimar, new emperor under the name Tiberius III, and sailed for Constantinople. There they met with greater success than at Carthage; Leontius was deposed, mutilated like Justinian II, and exiled to a monastery. Tiberius III proved not an incapable monarch; under his rule the Empire was able at least to hold its own against the expanding Moslem power.

In the meantime, in the Crimea, Justinian II had been forced to flee from Cherson when the authorities there discovered that he was plotting to recover his throne. He took refuge with the Khagan of the Khazars, one of the most powerful of the Hunnish tribes of the steppes, and married the Khagan's sister-german, whom he named Theodora. Tiberius III, informed of these events, bribed the Khagan to murder or surrender Justinian II; forewarned by his loyal wife, Justinian escaped a second time, gathered a boatload of supporters at Cherson, and set sail across the Black Sea.

It was now the autumn of 704; the little party wintered at the mouth of the Danube, after experiencing violent storms at sea, and there they contacted the Bulgars, who were only too happy to contribute an army to Justinian II's campaign to win back his throne. It was not until the summer of 705, however, that this barbarian host descended upon the walls of Constantinople.[18] The inhabitants of the

[18] Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 374, records the capture of the city under A. M. 6197 (704–5 A. D.), but Justinian's acts of revenge under the following Annus Mundi, pp. 374–5. Since the latter year is termed the first of Justinian

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city met them with jeers and catcalls, and might have stayed safe within their mountainous ramparts, had not Justinian been able to slip through a small gap or postern near the Blachernae gate, occupy the Blachernae palace, and rally his own supporters. The fickle populace deserted Tiberius Apsimar at this moment, and Justinian was able to resume his throne without having had to resort to the dangerous expedient of allowing the Bulgar army inside the walls of Constantinople.

A great triumph was celebrated in the Hippodrome, to which both Tiberius Apsimar and the deposed Leontius were dragged. Justinian II, seated in the Kathisma, presided over the races with one foot on the neck of each of his prostrate foes, while the mob chanted, "Thou hast trodden on the asp and the basilisk; the lion and the dragon thou hast trampled under foot,"[19] playing on the names of Apsimar and Leontius. When the races were over, Justinian sent them both to the Kynegion to be beheaded. His vengeance fell also on the Patriarch Callinicus, who had consecrated the usurpers; he was blinded, and sent to Rome as a living witness of Justinian II's return to power. Havoc was wrought in the army and the civil service, as all who had supported the usurpers were executed.

While all this went on, the emperor dispatched an armada to Khazaria, to bring back his wife Theodora. This fleet came to grief in another of the autumn storms for which the Black Sea is famous; when he learned of it, the Khagan sent a message to his brother-in-law: "Fool, should you not have sent two or three ships to fetch your wife, and not have killed so many men? Did you expect to have to seize her by force?[20] Learn that a son is born to you; send and get them both." When at last the mother and child were safely brought

II's second reign, he must have assumed the crown before the beginning of the year, in September; the execution of his vengeance against those he considered his enemies, and the ceremonial rewarding of his Bulgar allies, would inevitably have consumed some time, perhaps as much as several months or more.

[19] Psalms xci, 13, in the Greek version. This is the subject, of course, of the mosaic of Christ as the Warrior, in the Archbishop's Palace, Ravenna: cf. Corrado Ricci, *Monumenti – tavoli storichi dei mosaici di Ravenna* V, Rome, 1934, Pl. XXXV & Pl. B.

[20] Justinian might well have thought so. The Khagan had not proven himself the most reliable of friends in the past, nor was he to do so in the future. The Khagan's reproof is quoted in Theoph., p. 375, and in Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot II, p. 478.

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to Constantinople, Justinian crowned them both, and ruled jointly with his infant son, who was named Tiberius in further imitation of the practices of Justinian I, the Great.

The year 705 saw significant changes in the leadership of the other world centers, Damascus and Rome, as well. Abd el-Malik died, after a twenty-five year reign of exceptional brilliance, to be succeeded by his son Walid, a far more fervent partisan of Arabisation. In the same year, one of the ablest of the "Greek" Popes, John VII, was elected to the See of Rome. It was with this Pope that Justinian II resumed negotiations over the Acts of the Quinisexte Council, with a view to obtaining the needed papal signature. The blinded Patriarch Callinicus was undoubtedly an effective messenger; but he was followed also by two metropolitan bishops bearing those six tomes which Pope Sergius had refused to sign thirteen years earlier. Yet the emperor seems to have been far less overbearing this time, as the fact that his emissaries were bishops, not soldiers as before, would indicate. The terms in which Justinian couched his demands were conciliatory in the extreme. He urged the elderly pontiff to convene a synod to which the Acts might be communicated; this synod should then confirm those canons which seemed worthy of approval, and reject those which were unsatisfactory. Instead, John returned the Acts unemended to the emperor, saying that he could find no fault with any of them—yet he still neglected to sign! Thus, when he died shortly afterward, the whole business had to be taken up all over again with his successor, Constantine.[21]

By this time, his purges completed, Justinian II had a falling out with his erstwhile ally, the Khan of the Bulgars, and in 708 he led an expedition far up the Black Sea coast to Anchialus. His army was ambushed and routed, and the survivors returned to Constantinople in full flight. The following year the Moslems, on the move once more, besieged the important trading center of Tyana, well north of the Taurus range in Asia Minor; a relief expedition was slaughtered, and the city fell to the Arabs. From this time on, Moslem raids on Byzantine territory became bolder and bolder; small parties of marauders rode right up to the Bosphorus, looting and burning as they went.

[21] It may be noted, however, that our source for this episode is wholly one-sided; it is mentioned only in the *Lib. Pont.* I, pp. 385–6, and not in any Eastern source.

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Moslem pressure increased, in preparation for the full-scale invasion which was to follow only eight years later.

In the summer of 711, Constantinople received the ceremonial visit of the reigning Pope, Constantine, who was honored with great reverence by the emperor and his son, as our Roman sources relate. The disputed canons of the Quinisexte Council were again discussed, and presumably agreed upon—but the fact remains that we have no surviving copy of the Acts of 692 signed by any Roman Pope.

Scarcely had the papal party returned home, when they learned that the prince with whom they had so recently conferred was dead, and the little Augustus Tiberius who had met them on the road to Constantinople, butchered at the very altar of the Church of the Virgin at Blachernae. Justinian's unremitting vengefulness had begotten further violence. The object had been his home of exile, Cherson. Three ill-advised expeditions to the Crimea, designed, according to our sources,[22] to punish the Chersonites for their attempt to betray him to Tiberius Apsimar, furnished instead a rebel armada to overthrow Justinian himself. In effect, it was the same story as in 698: the imperial forces, prevented from accomplishing their mission by the interference of the Khazars, found themselves obliged to revolt against their ruler as the only possible way of saving themselves from punishment for their failure.

Justinian, when he feared, but could not be certain, that his last expedition had come to grief, committed the tactical error of leaving Constantinople with his field army, to scout in the direction of Pontus.[23] In this way, the rebel fleet was able to seize the capital in his absence. His troops were subverted, and Justinian II fell easily into the rebels' hands, for instant execution.

[22] We have taken the liberty of reducing Theophanes' recorded four expeditions to Nicephorus' three: respectively, pp. 377–81 and 44–8; since Theoph. obviously confuses different aspects of one and the same expedition. It may be noted that pure revenge may not have been the sole motive for these punitive expeditions, in view of the continual interference of the Khazars in the development of events in and around Cherson.

[23] There is a hint, in contemporary events in Armenia and Lazica (cf. V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat* I, i, pp. 127–8, with extended bibliography), that Justinian II had good reason to fear trouble from that direction; furthermore, the knowledge that the chief of the rebels was an Armenian may have persuaded him that they would move first in that direction, before attacking Constantinople itself.

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The chief of the rebels, the Armenian Philippicus Bardanes, assumed the purple, and proclaimed the Monothelete faith reinstated; Pope Constantine, hearing of this, took great alarm, but his fears were soon quieted. Bardanes' reign was short, and Monotheletism died with him. The succession of petty rulers who followed to the throne served only to set the scene for the assumption of power by Leo III, the great Isaurian, in March of 717 A. D., when the Moslems were again about to lay siege to Constantinople, for the second time in forty years; but that is another history.

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THE COINS OF JUSTINIAN II

The usefulness of numismatic evidence for the art historian will vary widely from period to period, and from country to country. By way of generalization, the following statement may be considered valid for Roman imperial coins and their successors, the Byzantine issues, in virtually all periods: These coins represent a significant field of the imperial iconography, never entirely neglected by the authorities for their ability to bring messages to the general public, or to special segments thereof; the coinage tends to reflect, then, significant changes of imperial policy as they may be susceptible of representation in the imperial iconography, and in any case, are more reliable guides to iconography than to stylistic character. The imperial coinage, moreover, partook of some of the sacred character enjoyed by official portraits of the emperor.[1] Thus the coinage inevitably represents the intentions of the imperial authority, to a degree perhaps varying according to the distance of the issuing mint from the seat of that authority, and the actual power there exercised. When, as in the case of the issues of Justinian II, a radical change was made in the nature of the types represented, we can safely assume that a significant shift in imperial policy itself had taken place.

Our first necessity, then, will be to describe the types of coins issued by this emperor. For our descriptions, we base our work both on the pertinent sections of the general catalogues of the Byzantine coinage,[2]

[1] That the imperial image, as presented on coins, retained its sacred character as an object worthy of reverence even after the Restoration of the Images, and even in the eyes of the Orthodox iconophiles, is demonstrated by the incident at the Eighth Oecumenical Council of 869 (Mansi, *op. cit.* XVI, col. 388), cited by Ladner in *D. O. Papers* VII, p. 32, n. 156.

[2] These are: J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* II, Paris, 1862, pp. 19–26 and 32–5, Pl. XXXVII and XXXVIII; W. Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (hereafter *BMC*) II, London, 1908, pp. 330–45 and 354–7, Pl. XXXVIII, XL; and J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies Byzantines* (in Russian) VIII, St. Petersburg, 1914, pp. 832–70 and 890–6, Pl. 61–2 and 63.

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and on the relatively few specialized works on this immediate set of issues.[3]

When we examine the coinage of Justinian II, as that of any other of the emperors of his period, we find that the principal determining

[3] The only studies relating specifically to the coinage of Justinian II are the following two: Giulio di San Quintino, *Delle monete dell'imperatore Giustiniano II*, Torino, 1845; and A. R. Bellinger, "The Gold Coinage of Justinian II," *Archaeology* III, June, 1950, pp. 107–11.

San Quintino's monograph, which seems to have escaped the notice of the cataloguers listed in n. 2 above, has been largely superseded by their work, since they had at their disposal considerably greater quantities of specimens from which to form their conclusions. It does have at least an academic interest, however, in its valiant attempt to survey the problems of the bronze coinage of the period. The author gathered a large number of pieces, for the most part of Italian provenance, and although many must now be reattributed, his plates repay careful study, as has been shown by the work of Ricotti Prina mentioned below.

Bellinger's article is not in the nature of a catalogue, but gives a clear idea of the qualitative as well as the stylistic distinction with which the coinage of Justinian II must be credited. The same author has returned to a related area of study in a more recent article, "Coins and Byzantine Imperial Policy," *Speculum* XXXI, 1956, pp. 70–81.

More directly pertinent to our own study, although specifically concerned not with the coins of Justinian II but with those of his period as a whole, is the key article by L. Laffranchi, "La numismatica di Leonzio II. Studio su un periodo della monetazione Italo-Bizantina," *Numismatica e Scienze Affini* (now *Numismatica*) IV, 1938, pp. 73–4; *ibid.* V, 1939, pp. 7–15, 91–2. Reprinted as a complete essay, Perugia, 1940. Laffranchi, although not a specialist in the Byzantine field, was able by the application of techniques of stylistic, iconographic, orthographic and paleographic methodology to make a set of convincing new attributions of mints for the Italian coinage of this period; most important of all, he succeeded in identifying for the first time the coins of Leontius, in a series previously attributed to Leo III, by means of a monogram on certain Western bronzes, which monogram, including an unmistakable "T", must pertain to Leontius, rather than to Leo (identified on his coins simply as "Leon.")

(More recently, a simple explanation has been found for the identification of Leontius on most of his coins as "Leo," in the fact that the latter was the imperial name he assumed at his coronation, the former his original given name. Just so Apsimar became the emperor Tiberius, Bardanes Philippicus, and so on. The similarity of the parts of the double name, "Leo Leontius," was probably what led the chroniclers to overlook his official name, and retain his former one, to the long-standing confusion of struggling numismatists: J. P. C. Kent, "The Mystery of Leontius II," *Numismatic Chronicle* VI: 14, 1954, pp. 217–8.)

Finally, there is the important study by Diego Ricotti Prina, "La monetazione siciliana nell'epoca bizantina," *Numismatica* XVI, 1950, pp. 26–60 & Pl. I–IV, which further clarifies the situation as regards Sicilian mints of this period, as well as some related problems, as we shall indicate in our notes below.

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types are to be found in the gold issues, and most specifically among the solidi; not only the fractional gold, but the coins in silver and bronze, form relatively simple sub-types to the solidi (although in the West a certain amount of greater liberty in creating variant types was exercised), with the normal differentiations demanded by the established criteria of denominational indications. For the purposes of our study, then, only the types of the solidi need be described; nor do we need to delineate the precise epigraphy of the legends, or the various officina-marks represented among the known specimens. For this and for other details, the catalogues cited above provide information, pending publication of a corpus. Laffranchi's essay, just cited, includes an able study of the epigraphy of the coin legends of these and adjoining reigns.

TYPE I–A

Obv. IUSTINIANUSPEAV Bust of Justinian II, facing, beardless (except on one specimen where he has a light beard and the suspicion of a mustache[4]); he wears the crown with "globus cruciger," actually a semicircular ornament surmounted by a cross; divitision and chlamys, the latter fastened at the right shoulder by a conventional fibula; in his right hand he holds the true globus cruciger.

Rev. VICTORIA AVGU Cross potent on three steps; beneath, CONOB. Additional officina letters appear at the end of the inscription.[5] PLATE I, 1.

[4] The exception is a solidus from the A. M. Friend, Jr., Collection, now in Dumbarton Oaks.

[5] This group of coins is usually catalogued together with those of our Type I but, as Prof. Bellinger has pointed out, belongs to a distinct series, both by virtue of the youthful portraiture and of the different obverse inscription, which is consistent despite changes in dies. Examples include *BMC* II, p. 331, Nos. 3, 5 and 6 (Constantinople mint); p. 337, 32 (Carthage) and p. 336, 30 (given by Wroth to Carthage but now attributed to Sardinia; cf. below, p. 11–5); also Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, p. 837, 13 & 16, and p. 843, 41 (Carthage); and Laffranchi, *Numismatica e Scienze Affini* V, 1939, p. 8, Pl. 1, figs. 1–2 (Constantinople) and p. 11, Pl. V, figs. 1–2 (Rome).

The absence of the letter "D", for "Dominus," suggests that this type might have been issued before the death of Constantine IV; Justinian II was given the rank of Augustus in 680. But in this case we should expect the reverse inscription to be in the plural with reference to the Augusti, which it is not; and to judge by dated examples, the "beardless" bronze (cf. below,

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This type also seems to occur in the fractional gold, and there would appear to be a counterpart with beardless portrait in the bronze.[6]

TYPE I

Obv. DIUSTINIANUSPEAV Bust of Justinian II, facing, costumed as above, but with full beard and mustache.

Rev. VICTORIA AVGU Cross potent on three steps, with mint and officina marks, all as above.[7] PLATE I, 2

Fractional gold of the Constantinople mint has the imperial portrait facing, as above, while that from Italy is distinguished by a profile beardless portrait, conventional from preceding reigns.[8] Denominations are indicated by changes in the base of the cross on the reverse: on the semis the cross

n. 6) was issued, certainly at least in part, after 685. It is probably best to consider this merely the initial issue of the new emperor, carried on longer at some officinae than at others.

[6] A tremissis is illustrated by Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 11, Pl. V, figs. 17–18 (Rome). Prof. Bellinger has also drawn our attention to the series of bronze coins with beardless portraits, some of which appear to have inscriptions beginning without the "D", although others decidedly do not. One consistent group of bronzes with beardless portrait, in both folles and half-folles, has the word "PAX" on the reverse, and is generally somewhat heavier than other bronze issues of Justinian II of the same denominations. If, as we have suggested above, pp. 9ff, the early years of Justinian II's first reign were devoted to promoting peace and harmony throughout the empire and abroad, this series may be linked to the beginning of his reign in a direct way. No conclusions of this sort can safely be drawn, however, until far more research has been devoted to these coins, and the dated examples fully collated. Published examples include Sabatier, *op. cit.* II, p. 26, 21; Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, p. 853, 79, & p. 856, 87–8; and R. Ratto, *Sale Catalogue*, Lugano, 1930, No. 1696.

[7] *BMC* II, pp. 330–1, 1–2, 4, 7–10 (Constantinople); p. 337, 33–6 (Carthage); p. 336, 29 (Carthage-Sardinia); p. 341, 51 (Rome); pp. 342–3, 56–9 (South Italy); also Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 835–40, 1–12, 14, 15, 17–26; p. 843, 40 (Carthage); Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 8, Pl. I, figs. 3–4 (Constantinople); p. 10, Pl. III, 1–2 (Ravenna); p. 11, Pl. V, 3–4 (Rome); p. 12, Pl. IX, 1–4 (Syracuse); and also probably p. 12, Pl. VIII, 13–4 (S. Italy), at this time rather than after 705; also Ricotti Prina, *Numismatica* XVI, 1950, pp. 41–2, 124–30 (Syracuse).

[8] San Quintino, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–3 & *passim*, makes much of the beardless portraits, coupling them with those on the Western fractional gold to toy with the idea that the emperor was beardless throughout his entire first reign. Of course the fractional gold provides no evidence for the imperial portraiture, and the beardless type of solidi were probably issued over a far shorter period; cf. above, n. 5.

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potent stands on a globus (PLATE I, 3); on the triens, it has no base other than its own barred foot (PLATE I, 4)[9].

TYPE II

Obv. IHSCRISTOSREXREGNANTIUM Bust of Christ facing, with cross behind head (but no nimbus). Hair and beard flowing; wears pallium over colobium; right hand in act of benediction in front of breast, Book of Gospels in front of left breast (Book must be supported by the left hand, although this is not visible in field of coin).

Rev. DIUSTINIANUSSERUCHRISTI The emperor, standing facing, bearded. He wears the crown with cross, and long jewelled robes covered by the loros; in his right hand, he holds the cross potent on two steps; in left hand, the mappa. Beneath, CONOP.[10]
PLATE I, 5.

The fact that the emperor here occupies the reverse of the coin is made doubly clear by the presence of the mint-mark under his feet, and by the fact that on the triens, the only variety of fractional gold certainly known to date, the cross potent changes its base to the plain base seen on the reverse of triens, Type I (PLATE I, 6).[11]

[9] Fractional gold: *BMC* II, p. 333, 19–21 (Constantinople); p. 338, 37–44 (Carthage); p. 342, 54 (Rome); pp. 343–5, 61–73 (S. Italy); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 843–7, 42–4, 46–59; pp. 849–50, 67–71; Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 8, Pl. I, 11–2 & 17–8 (Constantinople); p. 10, Pl. III, 7–10 (Ravenna); p. 11, Pl. V, 19–20 (Rome); p. 13, Pl. IX, 19–20 (Syracuse); and Ricotti Prina, *loc. cit.*, p. 42, 131–6 (Syracuse).

Silver: *BMC* II, p. 334, 25 (Constantinople); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 850–1, 72–3.

Bronze: *BMC* II, p. 335 (unnumbered, Constantinople); p. 339, 45–6 (Carthage); p. 339, 47 (Sicily); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 852–7, 78–92; Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 8, Pl. I, 25–6 (Constantinople); p. 10, Pl. III, 25–8 (Ravenna); p. 13, Pl. IX, 21–30 (Syracuse); and Ricotti Prina, *loc. cit.*, pp. 42–3, 137–152.

Known dates on the bronzes include the years I, II, III, V (?), VII, and X. These are usually dated from 685, the year of accession, rather than from the date of coronation as Augustus in 680: cf. Ricotti Prina, *loc. cit.*, p. 58, n. 20, as well as F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches* I, Monaco, 1924, p. 28, n. 236.

[10] *BMC* II, pp. 331–2, 11–17 (Constantinople); p. 336, 31 (Carthage-Sardinia); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 840–1, 27–34; Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 8, Pl. I, 5–6 (Constantinople).

[11] Fractional gold: *BMC* II, p. 333, 22–3 (tremissis of Constantinople); Tolstoi, *op. cit* VIII, p. 844, n. 1 (a semis taken from Sabatier, *op. cit.* II,

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TYPE III

Obv. DNIHSCHSREXREGNANTIUM Bust of Christ facing, same pose as in Type II, but facial type is different, triangular shape, with hair arranged in double row of curls, while the beard is short and curly as well.

Rev. DNIVSTINIANUSMULTUSAN Bust of the emperor, facing, wearing the crown with "globus cruciger," and jewelled costume with loros; in right hand, the cross potent on three steps; in his left, a globus inscribed PAX, and surmounted by a double-barred ("patriarchal") cross.[12] PLATE I, 7.

The fractional gold issues show the conventional changes in the cross potent held in the emperor's right hand. Hence, although no mint-mark is used, the emperor is still indicated as occupying the reverse (PLATE I, 8).[13]

p. 23, 4 & Pl. XXXVII, 4, apparently drawn from an actual piece on which the standing emperor holds a cross potent on globus base; but the lack of obverse reference and source in Sabatier makes it impossible to substantiate the authenticity of this otherwise unique coin), and pp. 847–8, 60–3, (all tremisses); and Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 8, Pl. I, 19–20 (tremissis of Constantinople).

Silver: *BMC* II, p. 334, 26–7 (Constantinople); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, p. 851, 74–5.

Among the wide variety of Sicilian bronzes dated to the first reign are certain ones with standing emperor type similar to that of the reverse of this issue. Cf. *BMC* II, p. 340, 48–50, and Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 13, Pl. IX, 25–6. These are, on the other hand, only variants of standing-emperor types which otherwise go back to types established by Heraclius and Constans II. For the whole problem, cf. Ricotti Prina, *op. cit.*

[12] *BMC* II, p. 332, 18 (Constantinople); p. 341, 53 (Rome); p. 343, 60 (S. Italy); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 841–3, 35–9; Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, Pl. II, 33–4 (Constantinople); and Ricotti Prina, *loc. cit.*, p. 57, n. 1, attributing a coin of this type illustrated in San Quintino, *op. cit.*, to the Sardinian mint.

Ricotti Prina also raises the possibility of a Syracusan sub-type of this Type III, with emperor in loros costume, but with normal stepped-cross reverse: *loc. cit.*, p. 46, 171. If this piece has been accurately described, this type bears the same relationship to our Type III as our Type IV–B does to Type IV; but the question hinges on whether or not the emperor is actually wearing the costume of Type III. Inasmuch as Ricotti Prina was unable to be certain of this from the illustration in his source, a sales catalogue, we deem it proper to suggest that this is more probably a Syracusan example of Type I, in bad condition.

[13] Cf. the discussion below, pp. 26f.

Fractional gold: *BMC* II, p. 334, 24 (Constantinople); p. 342, 55 (given to Rome, but more probably South Italian); p. 345, 74 (S. Italy); Tolstoi,

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TYPE IV

Obv. DNIHSCHSREXREGNANTIUM Bust of Christ facing, exactly as on Type III.

Rev. DNIUSTINIANUSETTIBERIUSPPAU Bust of Justinian II, bearded, on left, and bust of Tiberius, beardless, on right, both facing; both wear crowns with "globus cruciger," divitision, and chlamys; each supports with his right hand a cross potent on steps, which occupies the center of the field.[14] PLATE I, 9.

The fractional gold pieces show the conventional alterations in the cross potent held by the two Augusti, confirming that they are still on the reverse of the coin (PLATE I, 10).[15]

TYPE IV-B

Obv. Similar to reverse of Type IV, save that the co-emperors hold a globus inscribed "PAX" and surmounted by a "patriarchal" cross, as on the reverse of Type III.

Rev. Similar to Type I, with the proper epigraphic changes to accommodate the existence of two Augusti.[16] PLATE I, 11.

op. cit. VIII, p. 844, 45 (called a semis, but the base of the cross held by the emperor is plain, so the piece is almost certainly a tremissis of wider than normal flan); pp. 848–9, 64–6; and Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, Pl. II, 49–50 (Constantinople). All the above are tremisses, but in the part of the Whittemore Collection on loan to Dumbarton Oaks from the Fogg Museum of Art, are two semisses of this type, and from the Constantinople mint.

Silver: *BMC* II, p. 335, 28 (Constantinople); and Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 851–2, 76–7.

Bronze: Ricotti Prina, *loc. cit.*, p. 46, 172 (Syracuse), as well as an unpublished follis and five other bronzes of various denominations at Dumbarton Oaks.

[14] *BMC* II, p. 354, 1–2 (Constantinople); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, p. 892, 1–2; Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, Pl. II, 35–6 (Constantinople).

[15] Fractional gold: *BMC* II, pp. 354–5, 3–6 (Constantinople); p. 356, 11 (tremissis of Rome); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 893–4, 4–10; Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, Pl. II, 45–6 (semis of Constantinople); a piece of $^1/_4$-solidus weight is also known, as an example in the Shaw Collection at Dumbarton Oaks.

Silver: *BMC* II, p. 355, 7 (Constantinople); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, p. 895, 12.

The bronze issues struck concurrently with this type are found under Type IV-B, n. 17, below.

[16] *BMC* II, p. 357, 12 (S. Italy); Tolstoi VIII, p. 893, 3; Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 10, Pl. IV, 35–6 (Ravenna, erroneously identified in the text as a coin of Artemius Anastasius); and Ricotti Prina, *loc. cit.*, p. 57, n. 1, the reattribution of Ratto, *Sales Catalogue*, No. 1709, to Sardinia. (Another of these Sardinian solidi is in the Pierce Collection at Dumbarton Oaks.)

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Solidi and fractional gold of this type are known only from Western mints, including issues of $^1/_4$ solidus, while the obverse type was used with conventional reverses on Constantinopolitan bronze which appears to have been the normal counterpart of Type IV at that mint (PLATE I, 12).[17]

The basic identification of the Byzantine mints is fairly well established, but it was Laffranchi's achievement to arrive at a new and more satisfactory analysis of the mints of Italy for the period leading up to the accession of Leo III, on the basis of more complete information (provenance, local collections, etc.) than had been available to his predecessors. At variance with Wroth, then, Laffranchi distinguished four mints in Italy: at Ravenna, at Rome, somewhere in South Italy, and in Sicily. The Sicilian mint of this period can be proven by certain mint-marks to have been located at Syracuse; that in South Italy, which was in close touch with the mint of the Lombard dukes of Beneventum, may have been located at Naples.[18]

Ricotti Prina's more recent study of the Sicilian coinage has supplemented but not altered Laffranchi's findings about the series and sequences of imperial coins of this period;[19] but he has also been able to distinguish a series of coins of a particular type as the product of a mint established on Sardinia, probably at Cagliari, in the territory of the Exarchate of Africa.[20] The first issues of this new mint, which have a fabric similar to the thick Carthaginian one, appeared during Justinian II's first reign, when Carthage was already threatened by Arab raids and attacks (PLATE I, 11).

Integrating these additions to the previous arrangements of the mints, we find that we can obtain the following picture of the numis-

[17] A South Italian semis is published by Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 12, Pl. VIII, 29–30. Otherwise, only a group of $^1/_4$-solidus weight gold pieces are known, now attributed to the Sardinian mint: cf. Ricotti Prina, *loc. cit.*, p. 57, n. 1, discussing Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, p. 894, 11, and Ratto, *Sales Catalogue*, No. 1711. Ratto No. 1710, now at Dumbarton Oaks, is another example.

Silver of this type is unknown.

Bronze: *BMC* II, pp. 335–6, 8–10 (Constantinople); Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 895–6, 13–17; Laffranchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, Pl. II, 57–8 (Constantinople); p. 11, Pl. VI, 37–8 (Rome, erroneously identified in the text); and Ricotti Prina, *loc. cit.*, p. 46, 173 (Syracuse).

[18] Cf. the bronze coins of XX nummia, Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, p. 857.

[19] *Op. cit.*

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 57, n. 1, as detailed in the notes above.

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matic activity of the two reigns of Justinian II, according to the known gold coins:[21]

CONSTANTINOPLE: Type I–A, I, II, III, IV.
CARTHAGE: Type I–A, I.
SARDINIA: Type I–A, I, II, III, and IV–B.
RAVENNA: Type I, IV–B.
ROME: Type I–A, I, III, IV, IV–B.
SOUTH ITALY: Type I, III, IV–B.
SYRACUSE: Type I.

The scheme of arrangement which we have followed in numbering and presenting the coin issues of Justinian II is, with a few exceptions in detail, the conventional order used in previous numismatic studies, based on a few self-evident facts. It may be well, at this point in our study, to indicate that, on the other hand, this arrangement is essentially an arbitrary one. These are the points on which it is based:

Type I–A is clearly the earliest struck, both because its types are derived directly from previous numismatic issues, and because it portrays the emperor in beardless boyhood. Type I, for the same reasons, follows immediately after.

Types IV and IV–B, on the other hand, are plainly late—they must date from the second reign, when Justinian's infant son Tiberius had been named Augustus.[22] On the other hand, they would appear to have been issued more or less simultaneously, Type IV at Constantinople and Rome, IV–B elsewhere in the West, with the bronze equivalent of IV–B serving at the capital. This leaves only Types II and III to be placed in their relative chronological positions; we may do that by virtue of the similarity of Types III and IV which, although not requiring the assumption of an absolute chronological precedence of Type II over Type III, makes it clear that the morphology of these types did tend in the direction II–III–IV rather than III–II–IV.

Another observation points to the same conclusion: we have already remarked that on Types II, III and IV, it is Christ who occupies

[21] Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 16–7, goes to considerable length to refute the theory set forth by Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VIII, pp. 842–3, that all our coins of Types III and IV, that is those with the curly-bearded Christ-image, were of Western origin. There is ample evidence that only the smaller proportion of coins of these types were struck at Western mints, while the bulk are of definitely Constantinopolitan style; cf. Laffranchi, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 7–15.

[22] Cf. above, p. 15.

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the obverses of the coins, while the emperor is on the reverses.[23] This is something quite unprecedented in the imperial numismatic iconography, for which there is no parallel in earlier issues of either Christian or pagan emperors; the obverse, the side of greatest honor, had always been reserved for the imperial image of highest rank. This resignation of the obverse by the emperor to Christ is most clearly seen, however, on Type II, where the inclusion of the mint-mark seals confirmation of the change of position. The design of Types III and IV make it more difficult to include a mint-mark and, in fact, the mint-mark is dropped entirely on these coins. (The question arises as to which consideration came first: was the mint-mark omitted because the design left no place for it, or was a design chosen which left no room for the mint-mark?)

In any case, the fact that the emperor or emperors still occupy the reverse on Types III and IV can be determined by comparing the fractional gold, on which the base of the cross potent held by the rulers changes to follow the coin's denomination. This, however, is an indication seen most clearly only when a variety of gold pieces is at hand, not when the coins are examined one at a time; hence a less obvious one. On post-Iconoclastic coins, too, where the image of Christ became a common type, there is even less of an obvious indication of whether the emperor or the Christ-image occupies the obverse; but when the scyphate series begins, it is to be seen that Christ always occupies the anvil die, which more or less by definition is considered that of the obverse.[24]

[23] Grabar, in his description of these coins of Justinian II, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 16–7 and elsewhere, follows his own precedent from *L'empereur*, pp. 19–20, in mistaking obverse and reverse—a mistake common, for that matter, to most publications of these coins. Judging by inconsistencies within *L'iconoclasme* itself, however—p. 16, Christ on "revers;" p. 17, Christ on "avers;" p. 220, Justinian II on "revers," etc.—the author is merely unaware of the significant numismatic and symbolic distinction between obverse and reverse on the imperial coins.

[24] As Prof. Bellinger has pointed out, this is true of the entire scyphate series with the exception of one type struck by Romanus IV, which appears to be a special case in that Christ does not occupy the die by himself: *BMC* II, Pl. LXI, 12.

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TYPES OF THE EMPEROR

Bellinger has remarked that the coins of Justinian II show a far higher level of technical and artistic proficiency than those of his immediate predecessors,[1] an observation which has been echoed by Kitzinger, who would place the beginning of the change with the last issues of Constantine IV.[2] A far more plastic conception of the portrait-image, a general rejection of the conventionalized types which had become so routine in the seventh century, in favor of extremely delicate workmanship (drapery details, delineation of eyes, etc.) which represented a new effort at convincing realism of imagery; all these are indications of a new policy in the Constantinople mint. This new style appears to continue through the first reign of Justinian II and that of Leontius (leading to the distinction in style which made the misattributed issues of the latter ruler so conspicuous when displayed among the flatter, more schematized types of Leo III) and even with diminishing force through the second reign and beyond, a full generation from the starting date around or before 685.

One of the results of this apparent interest in the quality of the coin dies, whatever its ultimate cause, is a strong sense of portraiture to be gained from perusing these coins, especially the solidi. What the significance of the renewed realism of the coin images may have been, can only be determined after a complete examination of all the types involved.

One type of emperor-portrait is common to three of our five coin types: the figure wearing the divitision and chlamys, crowned, and holding one form or another of the globus cruciger, is seen on Types I–A and I (PLATE I, 1–2), where Justinian II appears alone, and again on Types IV and IV–B (PLATE I, 9–11), where he shares honors with his infant son Tiberius, who is costumed identically.

In describing Type I, Wroth used the terms "mantle and robe" for the emperor's garments, and remarked[3] that here for the first time he

[1] Cf. above, p. 19, n. 3.
[2] In a lecture delivered at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1957.
[3] *BMC* II, p. 330, n. 2.

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could positively describe an emperor as wearing this form of non-military dress; he confessed, however, that in its general lines the costume seems to be found on earlier issues, as far back as Heraclius. It is there, in point of fact, that a careful examination of the coin types will indicate that the real introduction of this civil costume must be placed.

Let us review for a moment the development of Byzantine coin types leading up to this change. The restriction of themes on the imperial coinage between the fourth and the sixth centuries, which Grabar has so trenchantly described,[4] brought about, by the time of the accession of Justinian I, a situation wherein the variety of coin types in use had become extremely limited indeed. The solidi bore a three-quarter facing bust portrait of the emperor, a type which had originated under Constantius II in the fourth century (PLATE II, 16); the ruler appears clad in armor, wearing a helmet, carrying a spear over his right shoulder, and bearing a decorated shield before his left one. The fractional gold issues had profile portraits, as did the silver and bronze coins; it was on the last-named metal that the only recent modification had been effected, under Anastasius I, when a new denominational system was established, based upon the follis of 40 nummia, whereby each denomination of bronze coin was identified by means of capital letters on the reverse, denoting the value in Greek or Latin numerals.[5]

Beginning with the year 538–9, however, Justinian I introduced new types, featuring full-face portraits of the emperor, still wearing the cuirass, but now with a crown instead of a helmet, and holding in his right hand the globus cruciger (PLATE II, 17).[6] This went into effect in all metals, although the fractional gold, on which it was difficult to attempt the frontal bust, tended to continue to represent the monarch in profile as before.

On the bronze, a system of dating was introduced at the same time as the new type (enabling us to be so precise about the exact time of the innovation), by which the reverses were numbered according to the emperor's regnal year. This makes it possible to date the bronze coins of Justinian I and of many of his successors, right down to

[4] *L'empereur*, p. 159.
[5] *BMC* I, Pl. I–IV, etc.
[6] *Ibid.* I, Pl. IV, 11–2; Pl. V, 4–5; etc.

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Justinian II.[7] The practice can be linked directly to a Novella of 31 August, 537 A. D., which ordered the abandonment of the old custom of dating by post-consulate, and its replacement by the use of the Indiction Year or of the regnal year of the current ruler.[8]

These new types of Justinian I continued to dominate Byzantine coinages, with certain exceptions to be discussed later, until the reign of Heraclius. That emperor, in his earlier issues, after employing at first the very dies of Phocas,[9] continued the frontal type, showing armor worn under a paludamentum thrown across the shoulders (PLATE II, 18).[10] Starting about 613–14, however, Heraclius began to appear in a slightly different costume, using almost the same elements, but in which no trace of armor is visible (PLATE II, 19).[11] This, we believe, is the true beginning of the mantle-and-robe, or more properly chlamys-and-divitision type.

The costume may be seen in full on some later coins of Heraclius, where the chlamys falls full to the wearer's ankles,[12] and it was employed by his son and successor, Constans II.[13] Constantine IV, on the other hand, dropped this type, and went all the way back to the three-quarter-face military portrait which had prevailed from the reign of Constantius II to that of Justinian I, and which may have seemed appropriate to the warlike preoccupations of his troubled reign (PLATE II, 20); he also employed some of the full-face types which originated with Justinian I, just as he issued a series of bronze coins comparable in size and weight only to those of that emperor.[14]

What Justinian II did on his first coins, then, was to revive the types of his grandfather, Constans II; when he sought to associate himself with his own son, during his second reign, he used the same

[7] Cf. above, p. 22, n. 9.
[8] Nov. XLVII, *Corpus iuris civilis*, ed. R. Schoell and W. Kroll, vol. II, pp. 283–7. Although Justinian I dated his coins by regnal years, and his practice was followed by most of his successors, some interesting examples of coin series dated by Indiction years have recently been identified by P. Grierson: "Dated solidi of Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius," *Numismatic Chronicle* VI, 10, 1950, pp. 49–70, Pl. III–IV.
[9] *BMC* I, Pl. XXIII, 1.
[10] *Ibid.* I, Pl. XXIII, 2–3.
[11] *Ibid.* I, Pl. XXIII, 4–9, etc.
[12] *Ibid.* I, Pl. XXIII, 10–12, etc.
[13] *Ibid.* I, Pl. XXX, 12–15, etc.
[14] *Ibid.* II, Pl. XXXVI, 11–12; XXXVII, 9, 10, 16; XXXVIII, 8, etc.

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costume and a directly related type to convey the sense of the co-regency of the two Augusti, father and son.

If the designs of Justinian II's coin Types IV and IV–B present a certain semblance of originality, this is iconographically speaking more apparent than real. The idea of co-rulers clasping a symbol of power simultaneously to indicate their joint imperium was common on coin types from the third to the fifth century; the placing of family busts on coin reverses, on the other hand, was a favorite practice of the earlier Heraclians. The particular composition here employed was arrived at, no doubt, for Type IV, where it was necessary for the two Augusti to support the cross potent, as a symbol among other things of the coin's value; when the type was carried over to the obverse, on Type IV–B, and the cross potent had the reverse to itself, the composition with the two co-emperors was retained without difficulty.

The legends, too, "Dominus Iustinianus Perpetuus Augustus," and "Domini Nostri Iustinianus et Tiberius Perpetui Augusti," are in keeping with the Roman and Byzantine traditions of coin legends, which the Byzantines tended to restrict to the barest essentials of titulature and nomenclature.

Concerning the costume, aside from what evidence we have from coins and other material remains, we can gain considerable information from the Book of Ceremonies. Despite its late date, in the tenth century, the antiquity and traditionalism of garments such as these make the evidence of this book trustworthy with regard to general significance and applicability.[15]

The references to the chlamys, when assembled as Ebersolt has done,[16] make it clear that this was the garment of highest dignity in the imperial wardrobe, one of the primary symbols of imperial power. Not only was it worn on many, indeed on nearly all the great civil and religious festivals of Byzantium, but it was the garment which was placed on the emperor's shoulders at his coronation, at the same

[15] References to these garments may be found throughout the text, but Chapter 46 (37) of Book I, specifically concerned with the imperial costume, summarizes its use in a particularly convenient fashion: Constantin Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt, Paris, 1935–40 (hereafter *De Cer.*, ed. Vogt), I, pp. 175–9.

[16] J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (extract from the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* LXXVI), Paris, 1917, pp. 53–6.

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time that the crown was put on his head; it was worn, too, by the deceased emperor on his catafalque. The use of the chlamys as such was not, of course, restricted to the imperial family; while the imperial chlamys was made of purple cloth, embroidered in gold, there were similar mantles in other prescribed materials and colors which were worn by the various ranks of court dignitaries. As the robes of mandarins of imperial China were embroidered with dragons of different type, so the chlamys of the Byzantine dignitary was additionally decorated with an ornate colored tabulum, whose embroidered details indicated both his status and the occasion of wearing.

The divitision, sometimes equated in Byzantine writings with the ancient chiton, was a belted tunic-like garment slightly shorter than the chlamys, which might be worn not only under that cloak, but under the sagion or the tzitzakion, as the occasion required. This tunic was worn without an overgarment at the coronation until the moment when the chlamys was placed over the imperial shoulders.[17]

As regards the crown, we have considerable information in our sources about a variety of crowns used for various occasions;[18] but, thus far at any rate, it has proven impossible to relate this information to the visual evidence of the coins and other material remains. The type of crown worn by Justinian II on his coins, apparently a fairly plain filleted circlet surmounted in front by a semicircular ornament itself topped by a small cross, appears to have originated with Constans II, and is first clearly discernable on that ruler's coins (PLATE III, 21).[19] Heraclius (and his sons, when shown) wore a similar crown, but one on which the central ornament comes down across the front of the circlet, and which was in use from at least the sixth century (PLATE II, 18–19).[20] The type of crown introduced by Constans II, on the other hand, remained in use long after the fall of the Heraclian Dynasty. It is the only type of crown seen on the coins of the Isaurians (wherever detail is fine enough to ensure that a distinct type of specific crown is being portrayed) until the reign of Leo IV. At that time, a new crown seems to be introduced, with no semicircle at all, but a simple cross surmounting the front (PLATE

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 59–61.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 67–9.
[19] *BMC* I, Pl. XXX, 12–16.
[20] *Ibid.* I, Pl. XXIII, 4, 8–9, etc.

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III, 22).[21] Both this and the preceding type are seen on coins of the succeeding Iconoclast emperors, but by the reign of Michael IV the simpler crown-with-cross has become the only type used. As mentioned above, the sources indicate that more than one crown was in use by the Byzantine monarchs, at least in the tenth century; but we are unable to form even a hypothetical opinion as to which one may have been the dominant type, and hence the one represented numismatically, in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The globus, carried in the ruler's hand as a symbol of world domination, was of course of great antiquity in the Roman world.[22] Already under the Roman Republic, it was held by the goddess Roma, a representation which survived into Christian times.[23] In the later Empire, it is seen most frequently surmounted by the Nike, who crowns its holder, as on a medallion of Constantius II (PLATE III, 24),[24] and as such it survived through the first century of the Christian Empire. But even during that time the tendency toward Christianization of the imperial symbols was suggested, as on a coin of the ephemeral usurper Nepotianus, in 350, where the globus is shown surmounted by the Chi-Rho monogram.[25] It does not appear to have received the cross, however, until the reign of Theodosius II (PLATE III, 23),[26] at a time when the cross-sceptre also makes its first numismatic appearance on the same series,[27] and when the cross as a symbol took on great importance in the imperial coinage, as apparently in the general context of religious art as a whole. As regards the globus cruciger, however, it became an integral element of the imperial-portrait coin type on the new issues of Justinian I, and as such it is used in Type I of Justinian II, a "normal" attribute of the Byzantine ruler.

The large cross potent on steps, which is used on the reverse of the solidi of Type I (and, on globus or without base, on the fractional gold of the series), can also be traced as a type to the coins of Theodo-

[21] *Ibid.* II, Pl. XLV, 20–21.
[22] Cf. the study by A. Alföldi, in "Insignien und Tracht der Römischen Kaiser," *Röm. Mitt.* L, 1935, pp. 117–20.
[23] Cf. Tolstoi, *op. cit.* I, Pl. I, 1, etc.
[24] Alföldi, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 10, 6.
[25] H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain* VIII, Paris, 1892, p. 2, 2: a solidus in the Vatican Museum.
[26] Tolstoi, *op. cit.* I, Pl. 5, 13, etc.
[27] *Ibid.* I, Pl. 5, 32–6, etc.

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sius II,[28] where for the first time a new reverse type is introduced, the standing figure of Victory in profile to the left, holding before her a tall, broad-armed Latin cross whose outline is decorated with something like pearls (PLATE III, 25).[29] On the basis of the legend, VOT XX MVLT XXX, this issue may be linked to the vicennalia of Theodosius II, while the combination of imperial personages in whose name the type was struck (obverses of Theodosius II, his wife Eudocia, his sister Pulcheria, his uncle Honorius the Western emperor, and his aunt Placidia) makes it possible to date it quite precisely to the year 423 A. D.[30]

This adaptation of the familiar imperial image of Nike planting a trophy in symbol of victory was introduced on the coinage of the vicennalia of Theodosius II for good reason: the occasion almost certainly was the conclusion of peace, the preceding year, after a brief and successful war against the Sassanian ruler Bahram V, caused in the first place by religious persecutions against Christian

[28] Cf. A. Frolow, "Numismatique byzantine et archéologie des lieux saints," *Mémorial Louis Petit*, Bucarest, 1948, pp. 78–94. Frolow's thesis has certain weaknesses, which are pointed out by Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 28, n. 2; but we should hesitate to go so far as Grabar in rejecting the connection between these issues and Theodosius II's other activities concerning the True Cross. It is too much of a coincidence for a jewelled cross to appear at Golgotha, and on the coins of the reigning monarch, at almost the identical moment. Grabar may be correct in hypothesizing a prior erection by Constantine I on the site of the Crucifixion; but this would not destroy the validity of Frolow's thesis about the work of Theodosius II.

Accepting, therefore, the basic point made by Frolow, we take the liberty of expanding upon the subject of this particular issue, in order to amplify a few details about the matter which are generally overlooked.

[29] Tolstoi, *op. cit.* I, Pl. 5, 42–7.

[30] Cf. the remarkable, but long-overlooked, article by J. F. W. de Salis, "The Coins of the Two Eudoxias, Eudocia, Placidia, and Honoria, and of Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo I, Struck in Italy," *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. VII, 1867, pp. 203–15. This essay should have settled once and for all time the question of Eudocia vs. Eudoxia on the coins of the reign of Theodosius II, since de Salis pointed out that the latter struck coins not only in the name of his wife Aelia Eudocia, but in that of his daughter Eudoxia II, who married the Western emperor and struck coins in the West as Licinia Eudoxia, but who was apparently called at Constantinople by the same name as her grandmother, Aelia Eudoxia I, wife of Arcadius.

Now that the story has been told again, with full credit to de Salis' brilliance and ingenuity, by A. A. Boyce, "Eudoxia, Eudocia, Eudoxia: Dated Solidi of the Fifth Century," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* VI, 1954, pp. 131–42, we may hope that the distinctions between these three ladies will not be lost sight of again.

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residents of the Persian domain. In the peace treaty, Theodosius II won new assurances of toleration of the Christian faith from the Persians, and his victory was celebrated as a major triumph for the Empire and for the Faith.[31]

For the particular form taken by the cross on this coin type, another contemporary event furnishes the clue. Only two years earlier, in 420–1,[32] Theodosius II had sent money to Jerusalem to endow the erection of a great jewelled cross on Golgotha, on the site of the crucifixion.[33] This great ornamented cross must have been the inspiration for the type placed in the hand of the Nike on the coins of the vicennalia, as it is for succeeding representations of the cross as the instrument of Christian imperial victory.

The type was modified by succeeding rulers, as the cross might or might not be shown with jewelled edges, and as the Nike was turned full-face, and then was transformed into a true Angel (wearing masculine rather than feminine garments) on the coins of Justin I, from about 519 A. D. (PLATE III, 26).[34] Finally, on the coins of Tiberius II, the supporting figure was dropped entirely,[35] and the cross on steps became the standard reverse type of the solidi, as seen on the first issues of Justinian II. On the other hand, as Frolow has shown, on his coins of Type II Justinian II actually reverts to the earlier type, and himself replaces the Nike who originally supported the victorious cross.[36]

On Types II and III, of course, the emperor is wearing a different variety of imperial costume, characterized by the loros, the broad

[31] *Theoph.*, p. 87, etc.; but the fullest Greek account is in Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII, 18–21 (Migne, *P. G.* LXVII, cols. 773–84). To obtain a glimpse of the other side of the picture, cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1944, pp. 269–81. J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1941, is an able general survey of the arts of this period.

[32] *Theoph.*, pp. 86–7.

[33] Cf. Frolow, *loc. cit.*

[34] Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First*, Cambridge, 1950, pp. 418–26.

[35] Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 27–8, suggests that a Constantinian precedent influenced the action of Tiberius II in establishing this type, and that there may have been a Constantinian monument in Constantinople itself which was the prototype. He also rejects Frolow's emphasis on the continuity of types of the cross on coin reverses, feeling that this was much more of an original departure.

[36] Frolow, *loc. cit.*, p. 92.

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embroidered and bejewelled scarf which was worn wound about the upper part of the body, with its ends falling almost to the feet (PLATE I, 5–7). Contemporary documentation on this costume is sparse, but its place in the Byzantine ceremonial can be ascertained by the use of the invaluable Book of Ceremonies, and most particularly by consultation of the chapter on the imperial regalia.[37] In that chapter, we find the loros mentioned with reference to only one occasion, Easter Sunday, when, after the preliminary ceremonies in the Triklinos of the Nineteen Akoubitoi, the emperor put on the loros and the "white or red crown, as it pleases him," while taking a sceptre in his left hand, and the anexikakia in his right. In this costume he proceeded to the mitatorion, the imperial robing room at the Great Church; but he removed the loros in favor of the chlamys before participating in the religious ceremonials there. After communion, he resumed the loros for the return to the Palace. So important was this particular occasion that Constantine Porphyrogenitus left among his papers an additional essay on the significance of the costume: Book II, Chapter 40, is entitled, "Why it is that on Easter Sunday the emperor, the magistri, the proconsuls and the patricians wear the loros."[38] Here the costume is described as symbolizing both the death and the resurrection of Christ; the loros, wound about the body like a winding-sheet, is yet studded with gems and embroidered with gold; the sceptre bespeaks Christ's victory over death by means of the cross; the anexikakia, the roll, wrapped in cloth and filled with dust, recalls our mortal bodies, embraced by the Book of Life.

Another analogy follows, however: immediately after this description we find a second explanation, namely, that the costume and paraphernalia are, essentially, those of the ancient consuls of Rome; they are borne by the patricians, then, as a reminder of the glories of former times, when men became kings for a year, and assumed not only the privileges, but the heavy responsibilities of the administration of the state. This is a clue, obviously: even in the tenth century it

[37] Cf. above, p. 31, n. 15.

[38] *De Cer.*, ed. de Reiske, Bonn, 1829, pp. 637–9. Cf. J. B. Bury, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogennetos," *English Historical Review* LXXXVI, 1907, p. 225: This section "has no special marks of Constantinian origin, and the introductory sentence is unlike the general style of the *De Ceremoniis*. It must be left open whether it was compiled by Constantine or is an extract from some older work."

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was remembered that this costume, of which the loros was the most characteristic feature, was that of the Roman consuls. In the history of the consulate under the Byzantine emperors, and in the history of the consular dress, may lie some of the answers we seek. Let us first see of what the costume consisted at the apogee of its splendor.

Study of the most significant of the monuments related to the consular office, that is, the consular diptychs, has revealed most of the information necessary to an understanding of the consular costume.[39] The basic elements of the dress were as follows: the undermost garment was a long tunic with full sleeves. Over this was worn a shorter, very full and sleeveless colobium, another variety of tunic which appears to have entered the consular regalia in the course of the third century A. D.; outermost was the consular toga, which might be, according to the importance of the occasion, either the plain white toga of every-day wear, or the purple toga which bears the name trabea, and which in its highest grades was of gold, embroidered with pearls and precious stones. This costume was completed by the ceremonial boots, or calcei, and the insignia of office, most particularly the mappa and the sceptre (PLATE IV, 29).[40]

The simple trabea costume, with a purple trabea rather than the embroidered one, was worn by the Viri consulares, the men of consular rank; the consuls themselves during their term of office wore what is called, significantly, the triumphal costume, with the tunic purple and bordered with gold, the colobium also purple, and the trabea, which developed during the history of the Empire into the form of a wide scarf decorated with gold rosettes. It was John Lydus, of our sources, who in the sixth century first applied the Greek word, loros, to the trabea.[41]

In origin, all these garments had their antecedents in Roman Republican usage, when they had vague associations with still earlier traditions of the monarchy. The basic elements of the costume, which was essentially that of the Triumphator, were the tunica palmata[42] worn underneath the toga picta;[43] these were the garments worn by

[39] R. Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und Verwändte Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1929.
[40] *Ibid.*, Text, pp. 43–4.
[41] *Ibid.*, Text, pp. 53–4.
[42] Cf. Daremberg & Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* V, pp. 539–40: "Tunica," by G. Blum.
[43] *Ibid.* V, p. 349: "Toga," by F. Courby.

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the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, who bestowed victory upon the arms of Rome.[44] The emperor Augustus made the toga picta a part of his own regular costume for ceremonial occasions; the triumphal and consular costumes gradually lost whatever distinctions may have existed between them prior to this time, and by the second century of our era were to all intents and purposes identical;[45] at the same time, of course, the right to receive a triumph had become the exclusive prerogative of the emperors, so that there was no such thing as a triumphal costume for any other member of the state. During the fourth century, the trabea or toga picta assumed its final, narrow form of scarf, as we see it in representations of the loros.[46]

The sceptre too was linked to this triumphal iconography of the consular costume, but there was one attribute which was not: the mappa. The mappa was held in the consul's right hand at the games over which he presided on the first of January, his inauguration day, and it was thrown down as the signal to commence the performance. The first mappae portrayed on the consular diptychs have the appearance of a limp cloth, like the napkins for which they were named; but in the sixth century the mappa was given added firmness by the insertion of a roll of paper inside the cloth, as described by the Porphyrogenitus in the Book of Ceremonies.[47] This type of mappa received the Greek name akakia, whence the parentage of the Byzantine anexikakia is direct.[48]

The fact that in its origins the mappa was, and always remained so long as it was an attribute of the consular office properly speaking, a simple instrument of the producer of the spectacles, is clear from all the texts. According to Cassiodorus, it dates from the time of Nero, who one day delayed the start of the games by staying late at table for a particularly fine luncheon. When the crowd in the nearby stadium became unruly at waiting so long, the emperor threw his napkin out the window of the dining-hall, as a signal that the proceedings might begin without him.[49] Despite the patness of the story, and

[44] *Ibid.* V, p. 490: "Triumphus," by R. Gaguat.
[45] Delbrück, *op. cit.*, Text, p. 54.
[46] F. Courby in Daremberg & Saglio, *op. cit.* V, p. 352.
[47] Cf. above, n. 38.
[48] Delbrück, *op. cit.*, Text, pp. 62–3.
[49] *Cassiodori Senatoris Variae* III, 51, ed. Th. Mommsen, *M. G. H.*, *auctores antiquissimi* XII, Berlin, 1894, p. 106. The topography of the Palatine in relation to the Hippodrome in Rome would not make this feat an impractical one.

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the skepticism modern students have shown toward it, there is no evidence that the word, or the use of the napkin-mappa at the games, antedates the reign of Nero.[50]

The consulate, however, underwent a major alteration in the course of the sixth century—a change which some commentators have considered to mark the very end of the consulate itself.[51] What had happened was that by the time of Justinian I the consulate had become not only a purely formal dignity, bestowing on its bearer merely the rights to give certain games, notably those of the first of January, when he was also privileged to free slaves,[52] and the right to bestow private and public gifts in honor of his appointment; but these very honors had become an almost intolerable burden for any private citizen, a burden of which the emperor could not but be fully sensible.

Early in the sixth century the last of the consuls retired in Rome; at Constantinople, after certain lapses of appointment, the naming of consuls ceased entirely in 541. This did not mean, however, that the office itself then ceased to exist; instead, there merely ceased to be private holders of the office. At the same time, there remained numerous bearers of the title ex-consul, which for centuries had been an honorific bestowed generously upon men who had never held the eponymic consulate itself, as well as upon those who had; from 541, this title became more common than ever.[53]

After this time, the consulate proper became purely an imperial office, which the emperor assumed more or less automatically upon commencing his reign; as such, its duties were amalgamated with the others embodied in the imperial responsibilities, to such an extent that the consulate shortly became just another title to be cited in a full list of the imperial dignities, without any distinction of its functions whatsoever. Justin II was the first emperor to celebrate this

[50] Cf. Daremberg & Saglio, *op. cit.* III, p. 1593: "Mappa," by E. Pottier.
[51] As J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, London, 1911, pp. 25–6.
[52] Daremberg & Saglio, *op. cit.* I, pp. 1466–81: "Consul," by G. Bloch. Freeing slaves, i. e., captives, was doubtless another vestige of the prerogatives of the triumphator.
[53] The most recent study of the later history of the consular office and titles in the Byzantine Empire, with a résumé of previous scholarly opinion, is that of Chr. Courtois, "Exconsul. Observations sur l'histoire du consulat à l'époque byzantine," *Byzantion* XIX, 1949, pp. 37–58.

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form of consulate, in 566;[54] it was at this time that the imperial diadem was incorporated into the consular regalia.[55]

It is, furthermore, at this time that the consular costume reappears on the imperial coinage, significantly just at the moment that the consulate had become exclusively an imperial office. Its first occurrence was in the second year of Justin II's successor, Tiberius II (PLATE III, 27);[56] the next emperor, Maurice Tiberius, issued at various periods and mints during his reign "consular" types in bronze,[57] silver,[58] and gold.[59] Phocas too minted both solidi[60] and bronzes[61] of this kind, on which for the first time the consular sceptre appears topped by a cross, instead of by the imperial Roman eagle (PLATE III, 28).

Byzantine coins bear the image of the emperor as consul for the last time in the reign of Heraclius, on a series over which there had long been uncertainty, but which has now been satisfactorily elucidated by Grierson.[62] The same emperor raised his eldest son, Heraclius Constantine, to consular rank on the occasion of his own triumph in 631, after the successful conclusion of the Persian Wars;[63] thereafter we hear very little of the consular office, although both Constantine IV

[54] Corippus, *De laudibus Iustini minoris* IV, ed. Partsch, *M. G. H., auct. ant.* III, 2, Berlin, 1879, pp. 147–56.

[55] *Ibid.* IV, 243, ed. Partsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 153.

[56] After a brief issue of folles during the initial year of his reign, all of Tiberius II's 40-nummia pieces, and many of his other bronze coins, were of this consular type: *BMC* I, Pl. XIV, 5–6; Pls. XV & XVI, *passim*. There is also an issue of gold of the consular type, which includes in the obverse legend the interesting acclamation, "VIVAT FELIX:" *Ibid.* I, Pl. XIII, 20.

[57] *Ibid.* I, Pl. XVII, 8; Pl. XVIII, 2 & 4, are coins of the Constantinople, Cyzicus and Nicomedia mints, respectively; Pl. XVIII, 7–9, are coins of Antioch. For the coins of Maurice and his successors, cf. the valuable article by Grierson cited above, n. 8.

[58] *BMC* I, Pl. XVIII, 12, from Carthage.

[59] *Ibid.* I, Pl. XVII, 1, struck at Constantinople, representing the emperor enthroned and wearing consular dress.

[60] Tolstoi, *op. cit.* V, Pl. 42, 26–7.

[61] *BMC* I, Pls. XX–XXII, *passim*.

[62] P. Grierson, "The consular coinage of 'Heraclius' and the revolt against Phocas of 608–610," *Numismatic Chronicle* VI, 10, 1950, pp. 71–93, Pls. V–VI. Previous attempts to solve the problem, now disposed of with evident finality by Grierson, may be found in *BMC* I, pp. 231–7, and Tolstoi, *op. cit.* VI, pp. 662–4, where the earlier literature on the subject is reviewed.

[63] *Niceph.*, pp. 22–3. Heraclius Constantine is also mentioned as consul in an inscription dating from 641: J. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae saeculo VII^o antiquiores* I, Rome, 1857, xlvi–liv.

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and Justinian II occasionally dated their acts by consular as well as regnal years, notwithstanding the fact that the two were identical.[64]

At the same time, as we have remarked, during the seventh century the practice of creating honorary consuls, called ex-consuls or ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, became more and more common, as the lead seals of the period, as well as our literary sources, attest.[65] During this time, the loros costume, which pertained to the consular functions, became more general in its application to other dignities, as we may find in the account of the procession of Heraclius and his family to the church of S. Sophia on the Kalends of January (at the time of the old consular inaugurations), recorded in the Book of Ceremonies: the ex-prefects, another honorary class, wore the loros on that occasion, after the fashion of the consuls, as the author expresses it.[66]

During the 680's, however, it has been noted that the title of ex-consul ceases to occur on the lead seals, and seems to have fallen rapidly into disuse.[67] On the other hand, in the following century the title of consul itself reappears as an official rank, albeit not a very distinguished one, in the senatorial class. This seems to have been not so much a continuation of the old ex-consular office, as a new position in the court hierarchy, which revived the title, but not the office or status, of the old magistracy.[68]

The loros, on the other hand, far from being reserved for this class, became a ceremonial garment for several of the highest classes of the nobility, as a number of passages in the Book of Ceremonies make clear. We have already cited the parts of Chapters 46 (37) of Book I, and 40 of Book II, which indicate that the only occasion on which the emperor regularly wore the loros was at Easter.[69] This is borne out by the description of the ceremonials of Easter, in Book I, Chapter 1,[70] where we find the emperor putting on the loros and taking in his right hand the akakia, in his left the cross-sceptre.[71] At the same time it is clear that, just as in earlier centuries, there were different types of

[64] Cf. Mansi, *op. cit.* XI, cols. 209 & 738.
[65] Cf. Courtois, *op. cit.*, pp. 52f.
[66] *De Cer.* II, 28, ed. de Reiske, p. 629.
[67] Courtois, *loc. cit.*
[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 57f.; cp. Bury, *Imperial Administrative System*, pp. 25f.
[69] Cf. above, p. 36.
[70] Ed. Vogt I, pp. 17–20.
[71] *Ibid.* I, p. 20.

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loros to conform to the different ranks entitled to wear them: a clear distinction is made between the loroi of cloth-of-gold worn on this occasion by the twelve magistri and proconsuls who were to dine with the emperor,[72] and the "golden" loroi worn by the lesser dignitaries to whom they were appropriate.[73]

The loros appears twice more in the Book of Ceremonies: once as the special garment of the "patrician of the girdle;"[74] and again, as worn by various dignitaries of the court at a special reception in the Magnaura in 946 A. D.[75] These passages illustrate very well the restricted character of the use of the costume in the tenth century: The "patrician of the girdle," a feminine rank of the very highest degree, seems to have been bestowed especially upon female members of the imperial family who were not entitled to the rank of Augusta; the only known bearer of the title was the mother-in-law of the emperor Theophilus, Theoctiste, for whom it was probably created.[76] The relatively limited number of occasions on which the garment, at least in its most elaborate form, might be worn is illustrated by the description in Book II, for it is expressly stated that on that occasion things were arranged in the Chrysotriclinium (the site of the loros reception on Easter Sunday of Book I, Chapter I) *just as on the occasion of Easter.*[77]

This conscious transfer of the consular costume from its former secular milieu to a religious one, from the first of January to one of the most sacred of Christian festivals, Easter, is undocumented so far as any literal account of the shift, or the reason therefor, is concerned. On the other hand, Ebersolt's notice on the loros[78] investigates the evidence, which the author felt was sufficiently clear to permit the conclusion that the celebration of the consular procession, with the attendant distribution of largess which came to constitute the literal meaning of the Greek word for "consulship", was shifted during the eighth century to Eastertime, and that this was the simple reason for the wearing of the consular costume at Easter in the tenth century,

[72] *Ibid.* I, p. 18: τοὺς δώδεκα χρυσουφάντους λώρους.
[73] *Ibid.* I, p. 19: τοὺς χρυσοῦς λώρους.
[74] *De Cer.* I, 59 (50), ed. Vogt II, pp. 63–6.
[75] *Ibid.* II, 15, ed. de Reiske, pp. 570–82.
[76] Cf. ed. Vogt, Commentaire II, pp. 72ff.
[77] Ed. de Reiske, p. 580.
[78] Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–5.

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when the consular procession itself had at last been completely forgotten, except perhaps by the antiquaries.

The following is the evidence for such a conclusion. The first occasion on which the consular ceremony was recorded, after the time of Heraclius, was at the close of the year 718, when, in December, a son and heir was born to the new emperor Leo III. This son, who was to be Constantine V, was baptized at the earliest possible moment—before, in fact, the infant had been house-broken; after the close of an embarrassing New Year's episode at the font of the Baptistry of S. Sophia, the consular largess was distributed to the crowd outdoors.[79]

The next recorded instance was at Eastertide of 768, when Constantine V himself had produced heirs; he held a multiple coronation ceremony to establish the titles of all his family. On Good Saturday, he crowned his wife Eudocia as Augusta; the following day he made two of his sons Caesars, and a third one Nobilissimus. That same day, as the rulers were proceeding from the Great Palace to S. Sophia, they ὑπατείαν ἐποίησαν, *as well as* distributing largess.[80]

Again, in 799, at Easter, the empress Irene, then sole ruler of the Eastern Empire, made a distribution of money after the custom of the consuls, as it was expressed.[81] Finally, in 867, after Basil the Macedonian had murdered his patron Michael III, he made a consular procession, with the attendant largesses, after the coronation ceremony. This took place on the twenty-fourth of September.[82]

Three of these ceremonials, we see, were in reality attached to occurrences other than simple consular processions: coronations in two cases, a baptism in another. Only the episode under Irene seems to indicate that there persisted a regular practice of holding the consular procession regularly without special motivation, and then at Easter; this would be an ordinary event which would only be mentioned by the chroniclers when something unusual took place, or when something so unprecedented as a woman's assuming the consular duties took place.

Even this meager evidence, however, seems to be enough to indicate at least the outlines of the picture. We have seen that, from the

[79] *Theoph.*, p. 400.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 444; *Niceph.*, p. 77.
[81] *Theoph.*, p. 474.
[82] *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, p. 256.

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time of Justin II, the emperor counted his consular years as he did his regnal ones; the consular procession thus became associated with the ceremonial of coronation, if not at this time, then shortly thereafter. For this reason, when necessity did not dictate the date of a coronation—that is to say on occasions when a living emperor was raising an heir or other relative to a higher dignity—then that ceremonial might be arranged to take place at the same time as the regular consular celebration. This would explain the choice of a date for the coronation of the family of Constantine V, at Easter; if we extend the analogy back another fifty years, we may take it to mean that at the outset of Leo III's reign, the consular procession was still held in January. That, then, was the fixed part of the recorded ceremonial, and this would explain the ill-advised rush to baptize the infant princeling, since otherwise it would have been preferable to postpone matters a full year for the proper occasion to arrive again. It may also be significant that it was after the time of the incident which earned for Constantine V the sobriquet "Copronymus" that the date of the consular procession was changed. All this, however, remains largely conjectural at the present state of our knowledge of the sources.

What is clear, however, is that the old significance of the processus consularis, namely, victory and triumph, and of the consular costume itself, had not been forgotten in the mid-Byzantine period, but had been translated from the imperial into Christian imagery; this is, fundamentally, why the Book of Ceremonies was right in giving not one but two reasons for the wearing of the loros at Easter. It is also the reason why (contrary to Ebersolt) the celebration and, still more permanently, the costume attached themselves to Easter, the most triumphant of Christian feasts, and not the other way round.

The difficulty in tracing the history of titular office and associated ceremonials of the consulship after the time of Heraclius makes it impossible to determine with certainty the precise significance of the appearance of the consular costume on the coins of Justinian II—if indeed there was one single "precise" significance to its use. But even if there was no single meaning to the introduction of this costume and its attributes, we know that it was not done without clear purpose in mind. We have been able to observe that the office was undergoing modifications at precisely this time, and the honorary title of ex-

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consul seems to have been suppressed almost at the outset of his first reign; it is tempting to risk the conjecture that the office was discontinued deliberately at this time, in conjunction with what seems to have been a concerted policy of restricting the powers of the nobility.[83]

We are not permitted to hypothesize that any of the changes in date of the procession, or the institution of a new consular order, took place before the Isaurian dynasty came to power. The latter move, as a matter of fact, is one more typical of a newly-established ruling group than of one long in power. We may suggest, however, certain things with which the use of the costume on the coins of Justinian II may have been associated: If the coins commemorate some more or less specific event, there can be no question that it was of the highest ceremonial order; and the date may well have coincided with the date of the consular celebration, whether that was then held in January or at Easter. There can be little question, moreover, that the triumphal significance, in the broadest sense, of the costume was something of which the designer of the new coin type was fully aware.

[83] Cf. the actions recorded in *Theoph.*, pp. 367–8, and *Niceph.*, p. 37.

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TYPES OF CHRIST

The major innovation of Justinian II's coins lies in the introduction of two portraits of Christ as the obverse types of three of his issues.[1] Of these two types,[2] the first, seen on our coins of Type II, and which we shall call Christ-type A (PLATE V, 30), is broad-faced and round of head; the hair is long, falling behind the shoulders. The right hand, as we have remarked, appears in front of the right shoulder in the gesture of blessing, while in front of the left breast is held the Book.

If we look for parallels to this Type A, we find that there are no surviving antecedents in Christian art so far as it has been preserved. Other bearded portraits of Christ of course had appeared long before this date, particularly from the fourth century on, but all lack the distinctive characteristics of Type A: the wavy hair and beard, the rounded head, and the clearly marked part in the hair, from which two tiny locks stray down onto the forehead.[3]

But if Type A appears seemingly for the first time on these coins of Justinian II, its subsequent history is, by contrast, quite well documented, and of the greatest importance to later Byzantine art. It does not recur, naturally enough, during the Iconoclastic Controversy,

[1] For guidance in establishing a framework for this chapter, as well as for certain of the theories presented herein, I am deeply indebted to Dr. Alan Gowans for permission to draw upon his paper, "The Earliest Byzantine Christ-Types," read in Prof. A. M. Friend, Jr.'s seminar at Princeton in March, 1948. In addition, I have had the advantage of discussion with Mr. Hjalmar Torp, who undertook researches along similar lines at the University of Oslo.

[2] Dom Leclercq, in Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* VII[2], cols. 2396–7, working from the line engravings of Sabatier's plates, distinguished a third type from our coins of Type IV, wherein the curly-bearded Christ appeared to be wearing a diadem of pearls. Comparison with original specimens and with photographic plates will demonstrate that the source of this difference was merely a faulty rendering of the double row of curls on the head of the Christ-type common to our coin Types III and IV. This is in the excellent article, "Jésus-Christ," cols. 2393–2468.

[3] The closest parallels are to be found in a fresco from the Ponziana Catacomb, ill. J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1903, Pl. 257, dating from the sixth or seventh century, but in which the hai; lacks the very distinctive part and the tiny locks falling over the forehead, and in S. Maria Antiqua, ill. W. de Gruneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, Romer

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but we find Type A used almost immediately after the Reinstatement of the Images, on the coins of Michael III (842–867) (PLATE V, 31).[4] With the inscription changed to read simply "Jesus Christos," an almost exact copy of the coin type of Justinian II appears on the reverse of Michael III's gold coins, but with a significant variation: instead of falling behind both shoulders, as on the pre-Iconoclastic coins, Christ's hair in this case seems to trail down in front of His left shoulder. This can only be an error made in copying the earlier coin-type, in which the die-cutter confused the lines of the pallium on the type of Justinian II's coin for locks of hair; it proves, most significantly, that the pre-Iconoclast coins, on which the distinction between hair and garment was very slight, must have been the models for these coins of Michael III.

Later issues of Michael III correct this confusion (PLATE V, 32),[5] as does the die of a gold bulla of Michael's murderer and successor, Basil I.[6] Still another issue of Basil I, his regular solidi, supplants this image of Christ with a new one: it is Christ at full length, seated blessing on a lyre-backed throne, holding in his left hand the Book of Gospels; the legend reads "IHS XPS REX REGNANTIUM" (PLATE V, 33).[7] Both the details of the head and upper parts of the body, and the legend, support the identification of this figure with the bust-portrait on the coins of Michael III as well as, by extension, the coins of Justinian II. The only details at variance are the extended right arm of the enthroned figure, as against the inward-turned arm on the bust-type, and the presence of a nimbus enclosing the cross behind Christ's head.[8]

1911, Pl. 25, where the part and perhaps the locks are to be discerned, but in which the proportions of the head are longer and thinner. (The Christ on the Cross in S. Maria Antiqua, *ibid.*, Pl. 39, is of the same type.)

Neither of these is, in our opinion, similar enough to the type used on the coins of Justinian II to constitute a clear precedent; although, as will be seen by the discussion which follows, there is no reason why such Christ-types should not have existed, at least after the late sixth century, without in any way damaging the points to be made about the distinctive character of the type.

[4] Cf. *BMC* II, Pl. XLIX, 16–18, and the enlarged reproduction in Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, fig. 46.

[5] Grabar, *op. cit.*, fig. 47.

[6] *BMC* II, Pl. L, 10.

[7] *Ibid.* II, Pl. L, 11–12.

[8] The absence of a nimbus is a puzzling and, as of the present time, inexplicable detail of the Christ-images of Justinian II. There is no indication, however,

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These details, which may in part be accounted for by the different spatial arrangement of the new coin-type, are scarcely more than expected variations in the transmission of a standard type; it would seem clear that, from the point of view of the artists and die-designers of the post-Iconoclastic period, the Christ-type A of Justinian II was believed to be a segment of a larger picture of the enthroned Christ, which was associated with the special title, "Rex Regnantium." It was not, therefore, a simple *imago clipeata* in the classical sense, a medallion portrait complete within its frame,[9] which the earlier coins portrayed; as the unsupported Book, implying the existence of a left hand, shows, it was rather a segment of a larger picture, and in the strictest sense was incomplete in itself: the coin of Basil I, then, shows us what the Macedonian period understood the full prototype, in a general way, to have looked like.

Out of the bust-type of Christ "Rex Regnantium," on the other hand, there evolved, shortly after the time of these coins of Basil I, the image of Christ Pantocrator, a true *clipeus* image, a purely circular portrait of God the Father seen through the image of Christ His Son, complete and perfect as given within its frame (PLATE VII, 36).[10]

We have already remarked that the artists and iconographers of the post-Iconoclastic period considered our Christ-type A as part of a

that it presents a significant obstacle to the elucidation of the coin types; it must simply be accepted as, most probably, a characteristic of the prototype of the coin image. In the pre-Iconoclastic period, for example on sarcophagi, the use of haloes to distinguish the figure of Christ was by no means universal, nor does the cross-nimbus become standard until the post-Iconoclastic period. Obviously, what is needed is a really thorough study of the nimbus, from its imperial usages through those of the formative Christian periods. In the meantime, an interesting discussion is contained in the article by Meyer Schapiro, "Notes on Castelseprio, I. The Three-Rayed Nimbus," *The Art Bulletin* XXXIX, 1957, pp. 292–7.

[9] Such as is flourished by the iconophiles and others in the very interesting marginal miniatures of the Chludov Psalter: Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, figs. 143, 144, 146, 152, etc. For the *clipeus* in general, cf. Joh. Bolten, *Die Imago Clipeata. Ein Beitrag zur Porträt- und Typengeschichte* (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Altertums*, ed. E. Drerup, H. Grimme & J. P. Kirsch, XXI, 1), Paderborn, 1927.

[10] Cf. the great cupola mosaic of the church of Daphni, illus. E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, Cambridge, 1931, Pl. I; the Pantocrator appears on the coins of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his successors: *BMC* II, Pl. LIII, 7, 12–4, *et seq.* To anticipate slightly, Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 40–1, discusses the relation of the Rex Regnantium image to that of the Pantocrator in an illuminating way.

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picture of the enthroned Christ; it behooves us to enquire if this image had any currency beyond the coins. As it happens, the answer is immediately at hand: One of the finest of the mosaics recently uncovered in the church of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul portrays just this figure of Christ on the lyre-backed throne (PLATE VI, 35).[11] The work of the Byzantine Institute has revealed the great mosaic over the central doorway of the narthex, where it had long been known to exist, since it was drawn by Fossati and published by Salzenberg in the nineteenth century.[12] Here is the very image of Basil I's coin, albeit in far more classically elegant style; and at Christ's feet bows in humblest proskynesis the Emperor of the Romans, a figure frequently identified as Leo VI, but, even more probably, Leo's father Basil I the Macedonian himself.[13]

The attributes of this Christ figure are of the greatest importance in the imperial symbolism, as Grabar has shown in his few pages on the subject of the emperor in adoration.[14] The lyre-backed throne is not a generalized type of throne, but a very specific one, which appears on the imperial coinage from the fifth century onward, and is almost certainly a particular throne used in the imperial ceremonial; it is found especially on coin types showing the syn-

[11] *The Mosaics of Haghia Sophia at Istanbul*, The Byzantine Institute, 1950 Pls. 5–7.

[12] W. Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmäle von Konstantinopel vom V. bis XII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1854, Pl. XXVII.

[13] T. Whittemore advanced the identification of this emperor with Leo VI in *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul. Preliminary Report on the First Year's Work, 1931–1932. The Mosaics of the Narthex*, The Byzantine Institute, 1933, pp. 14–23 and Pls. VI & XII–XXI; he upheld it again in an article, "The narthex mosaic of Sancta Sophia," *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* VI, 1940, pp. 214–23. He has also been supported in an article by K. A. Karabias Gribas, "Remarks on the narthex mosaics of Hagia Sophia," (in Greek) *Orthodoxia* XV, 1940, pp. 217–26 & 256–9. This is also the identification followed by Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, Geneva, 1953, p. 97, where the whole image is described as conveying the concept of Christ as "Holy Wisdom."

The identification of the emperor with Basil I, which has been considered with renewed seriousness in recent years, was strongly advanced by A. M. Schneider in "Der Kaiser des Mosaikbildes über dem Haupteingang der Sophienkirche zu Konstantinopel," *Oriens Christianus* III, 10, 1935, pp. 75–9, and again in his *Byzanz*, Berlin, 1936, pp. 32–3. And if Grabar suggests seriously, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 211, n. 3, that there was formerly an image of the Patriarch Photius opposite that of the emperor in this mosaic, this could scarcely be other than Basil I.

[14] *L'empereur*, pp. 100–6.

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thronos of two or more Augusti, as on the coins of Leo I and Leo II,[15] of Justin I with Justinian I (PLATE V, 34),[16] or of Justin II with his wife Sophia,[17] where the motif appears for the last time prior to the Iconoclastic period, when it was revived and used frequently on the coins.

The inscription on the Book, which we may read in the mosaic of Hagia Sophia, is as follows: "Peace be unto you; I am the Light of the World."[18] The Evangelical source of both elements of this formula is well known;[19] yet they had so important a place in the symbolism of imperial Rome that this derivation seems almost of equal importance with the biblical one.[20] The Pax Romana is a well-known concept of late antiquity; its transition into Christian imagery may be studied in the Homily on Matthew ii, 1, of John Chrysostom, which embodies a vision of the Pax in Heaven after a victorious war conducted by Christ against sin and death, and in which Christ enthroned presides over a glorious Triumph.[21] The concept of the emperor as Lux Mundi was also as old as the Roman Empire—and had pre-Roman antecedents as well—for it entered Roman panegyric literature with the work of Horace.[22] The cult of Sol Invictus revived its popularity in the third century, and sustained it well into the fourth, after the Christianization of the Empire itself. After 400 or so it lapsed into disuse, until it was revived in the time of Justin II by Corippus, the poet who perhaps has best right to the title of the last of the long line of Roman panegyrists.[23] In describing a ceremony taking place in S. Sophia, Corippus actually compares Christ the Light of the World with the emperor: beginning with a paraphrase of the Credo, "Jesus natus, non factus, plenum de lumine lumen," he

[15] Tolstoi, *op. cit.* II, Pl. 8, 2.
[16] *Ibid.* III, Pl. 18, 141–3.
[17] *BMC* I, Pl. XI, 12.
[18] Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν—Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμον.
[19] The first part is the greeting of Christ after the Resurrection: Luke xxiv, 36; John xx, 19 & 26; the other phrase comes from John viii, 12.
[20] Grabar, *loc. cit.*, as well as *L'iconoclasme*, p. 40, on the Pax Christiana, with significant quotation from the contemporary Anastasius Sinaiticus; *idem.*, p. 37, relates this to the word PAX on the globus held by the emperor on our coins of Type III.
[21] Migne, *P. G.* LVII, cols. 22–4.
[22] *Odes*, Book IV, Ode V, 5.
[23] *De laudibus Iustini minoris*, I, 149–50 & IV, 328; ed. Partsch, pp. 121 & 155.

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describes the prayer of Justin II before Christ, and concludes, "quem Christus amat rex magnus, amatur. Ipse regit reges, ipse et non subditur ulli."[24] The concepts of Emperor-Light and Christ-Light continue side by side into the Book of Ceremonies;[25] thence the imagery proceeds to flower in the literature of Comnenian and even later times.

It is clear, then, that this image was a particularly imperial one; and we know that Basil I especially revered Christ as Rex Regnantium, to whom he gave credit for placing himself and his House upon the imperial throne.[26] Since this title is so plainly linked to this one particular image, as it occurs on Basil's own coins, we may infer that Basil's worship of the Rex Regnantium was in fact directed to a specific image of the imperial Christ.

The title Rex Regnantium itself has antecedents in the New Testament. Christ is called "King of Kings" (Rex Regum in the Vulgate) three times, in I Timothy vi, 15, and in Revelation xvii, 14 and xix, 16 (in xix, 15, the term "Pantocrator" is employed in the Greek); but whereas in the latter cases the Greek agrees with the Latin, reading Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων, in I Timothy the Greek is Βασιλεὺς τῶν Βασιλευόντων, that is to say, "King of Those Who Rule," our Rex Regnantium. The distinction is subtle, but definite: Christ as King of Kings is the supreme power, the divine being having authority over all beings; but as Rex Regnantium He is placed in a particular relationship to the rulers of other men. This implies that He rules through the rulers of the earth, rather than directly over each individual human being.

The title of Rex Regnantium is applied to Christ in the Cherubic Hymn, the portion of the liturgy sung during the Great Entrance of the Elements of the Mass from the Prothesis to the Altar.[27] This hymn, which with the Great Entrance itself is a relatively late addition to

[24] *De laudibus* IV, 322–2, ed. Partsch, p. 155.
[25] The luminosity of the emperors assures the joy of the Universe: I, 74 (65), ed. Vogt II, p. 103. Christ the Sun illuminates and magnifies the power of the emperors, assuring Peace to the Universe (precisely as in the Hagia Sophia mosaic): I, 6, ed. Vogt I, p. 46.
[26] *Theoph. Cont.* V, 80 (Constantine VII's life of Basil I), ed. Bekker, pp. 334–5, where the Porphyrogenitus notes the inscription in which the family of Basil I give thanks to the Rex Regnantium for raising their house to power.
[27] Cf. A. Fortescue, "Cheroubicon," in Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire* III[1], cols. 1281–6.

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the Eastern liturgy, is said by Cedrenus to have been incorporated into that liturgy at the order of Justin II.[28] This assertion seems to be corroborated by the fact that the first mention of the Cherubicon occurs in 582, in a sermon protesting its use—and hence implying that it was then a relative novelty—by Eutychius of Constantinople.[29] The appelation which concerns us does not appear in the normal form of the Cherubic Hymn, however, but in a special form, the Proper of Easter Eve: Ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων, χριστὸς ὁ Θεός.[30]

The title, King of Those Who Rule, is also applied to Christ in a letter of Pope Leo II to the emperor Constantine IV, dated on the Nones of May, 682.[31] From this occasion to the time of the coins of Justinian II is a matter of but a decade or so; after the use of the title on these coins, it seems to have lapsed during the Iconoclastic period, until its great revival in popularity in the second half of the ninth century.

When we have come this far in investigating this figure of the Enthroned Christ Rex Regnantium, and have established the antiquity of the elements involved, insofar as it is possible to trace them, we are compelled to ask ourselves if there was not some monumental prototype, prior to the mosaic of Hagia Sophia, which determined its characteristics? The answer must lie in the realm of hypothesis, incapable of absolute proof; and yet there is such a concordance of circumstantial evidence on the matter that it is difficult to reject the answer which presents itself.

Unquestionably, the preeminent image of the Enthroned Christ after the Restoration of the Images was the one in the apse of the

[28] *Historiarum Compendium*, ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, p. 685: [Justin II] Ἐτυπώθη δὲ φάλλεσθαι καὶ ὁ χερουβικὸς ὕμνος.

[29] Homily on Easter and the Holy Eucharist, in Migne, *P. G.* LXXXVI[2], cols. 2400–1. Eutychius objected to such reverence being shown to unconsecrated elements.

[30] B.-Ch. Mercier, *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques*, Paris, 1946 (R. Graffin, *Patrologia Orientalis* XXVI, 2), p. 176; this edition includes earlier texts than those used by F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I: *Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford, 1896, p. 41; but even in this case the earliest MS. is of the thirteenth century. Since Eutychius seems to refer to one of the special versions of the Cherubicon, it is considered possible that these texts of limited applicability were the earliest ones to be used: cf. Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 573 and p. 532, n. 9; also Fortescue, *loc. cit.*, esp. col. 1283.

[31] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XI, cols. 725–36; quoted directly, below, p. 95.

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Chrysotriclinium of the Great Palace.[32] Before this image the emperor prayed, as his first official act on any great feast day;[33] directly beneath it was the imperial throne itself, from which the greatest affairs of the state were conducted. The emperor's obeisance before this image recalls that of the emperor before the Christ Enthroned in S. Sophia: and the mosaic there stands over the Imperial Doorway, where in turn the emperor made obeisance before entering the Great Church.[34]

The image of Christ in the Chrysotriclinium was erected by Michael III; but the same texts which give us this information, reveal that this work was simply the restoration of an image which had existed there before the Iconoclasm. An epigram of Menander Protector states, "The light of Truth hath shone forth again, and blunts the eyes of the false teachers. Piety hath increased and Error is fallen; Faith flourisheth and Grace groweth. For behold, Christ pictured again shines above the imperial throne and overthrows the dark heresies. And above the entrance, like a holy door, is imaged the guardian Virgin. The Emperor and the Patriarch, as victorious over Error, are pictured near with their fellow-workers, and all around, as sentries of the house, are angels, disciples, martyrs, priests: whence we call this now the Christotriclinium, instead of by its former name Chrysotriclinium, since it has the throne of the Lord Christ and of His Mother, and the images of the Apostles and of Michael, author of wisdom."[35]

Again we read, "O Emperor Michael, as preserving the bright preciousness of the ancient image, and as conqueror of all fleshly

[32] *De Cer.* I, 1, ed. Vogt I, pp. 4 and 17, two passages of almost identical wording: ἐν τῇ κόγχῃ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου, ἐν ᾗ ἱστόρηται ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ θεοείκελος ἁγία εἰκὼν ἐπὶ θρόνου καθεζομένη. This phraseology might apply to a portable icon, placed upon the imperial throne itself, but the context of these passages, together with the other descriptions to be quoted immediately below, make it clear that such was not the case.

[33] *Ibid.* I, 1, ed. Vogt I, p. 4.

[34] *Ibid.* I, 1, ed. Vogt I, pp. 10–11. V. Grumel, in *Echos d'Orient* XXXVI, 1937, pp. 214–5, reviewing Grabar's *L'empereur*, demonstrates conclusively that the mosaic cannot represent the actual scene which took place before the Imperial Doorway itself.

[35] *The Greek Anthology* I, 106, tr. Paton I (Loeb Classical Series), London, 1918, pp. 44–7. Many of the same figures reappear in similar contexts at Hagia Sophia, a point which is perhaps the basis of Grabar's conjecture referred to above, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 211, n. 3.

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stains, thou dost picture the Lord in colors too, establishing by deed the word of dogma.''[36]

What Michael III had done, then, was to re-erect in its former place a copy of the Enthroned Christ image which had existed in the Chrysotriclinium before the destruction of the images.[37] The responsibility for the first image, erected in the pre-Iconoclastic period, cannot be established with certainty; what our sources do tell us, however, is that the building, an eight-sided domed chamber with numerous dependencies, was erected in its final form by Justin II,[38] and its decoration carried out, or at least completed—the wording of the original is slightly ambiguous—by his successor, Tiberius II.[39] A prototype may have existed already on the site, a building of the emperor Marcian a century earlier.[40]

It is curious to note, then, how many elements of the Macedonian image of Christ Enthroned as Rex Regnantium, illustrated in the narthex mosaic at S. Sophia, also appear at this particular time: The lyre-backed throne on the coins of Justin II (whose successor renounced this type of "majestas" coin-image[41]); the concepts of both Christ and the Emperor as Lights for the World, employed by Corippus, the court poet; as well as the introduction of the very title of Christ, Rex Regnantium, in the Cherubic Hymn. So all the elements of the concept of the Enthroned Christ Rex Regnantium,

[36] *Ibid.* I, 107, tr. Paton I, pp. 46–7.
[37] Cf. S. der Nersessian, "Le décor des églises du IX[e] siècle," *Actes du VI[e] Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines* II, Paris, 1951, pp. 315–20, supported by Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
[38] Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1842, p. 132; Joannes Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum* XIV, 10, ed. Pinder, Bonn, 1897, p. 174; and Suidas, *Lexicon*, ed. Adler, Leipzig, 1931, Vol. II, p. 646, *s. v.* "Ioustinos."
[39] Leo Grammaticus, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–8; Cedrenus, *op. cit.*, p. 690; Zonaras, *op. cit.* XIV, 11, pp. 180–1.
[40] Cf. *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitarum* II, ed. Preger, Leipzig, 1907, p. 256. On the basis of this reference, C. Mango has constructed an interesting hypothesis as to the history of this part of the palace complex, with particular reference to the rather mysterious "exterior galleries of Marcian:" "Autour du Grand Palais de Constantinople," *Cahiers Archéologiques* V, 1951, pp. 179–86. Whether or not Marcian did build a prototype of the Chrysotriclinium, it is clear that the construction undertaken by Justin II was a completely new building,conceived in terms of sixth-century architectural principles, and furthermore a separate architectural conception entirely independent in its own right.
[41] Cf. Grabar, *L'empereur*, pp. 24 f.

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Light of the World and Bestower of Peace, were current at one precise point in Byzantine history; it seems more than probable that the image produced during the Macedonian Dynasty as the supreme symbol of the divine bestowal of imperial power could have originated at this particular moment.

This concept of the bestowal of power by Christ seems to have been present almost constantly in the mind of Justin II,[42] but he gave it fullest expression in his famous abdication speech on the occasion of the elevation of Tiberius II to the throne; phrases such as "Behold the insignia of supreme power; you are about to receive them not from my hand, but from the hand of God,"[43] are addressed to his successor, while the people are told that their new emperor is being given them not by Justin himself, but by the deity.[44] According to Justin, the words of the speech were dictated to him as he spoke by an angel, and the chroniclers state that they were taken down verbatim by secretaries, for the edification of posterity.

Our evidence is thus quite circumstantial, but nonetheless it is more than tempting to conceive of Justin II delivering this speech in his own Chrysotriclinium, pointing as he speaks to the very image of this Bestower of Power. Nor would this have been impossible, in the light of the evidence of our sources on the history of the structure, since they make it clear that Tiberius II was merely finishing the work begun by his predecessor when he decorated the interior of the throne-room; they do not specify whether part of the decoration was already in place, or if none of it had actually been begun at the time of Tiberius' accession.

We know that the image of Christ was in the conch of a sort of apse, at the east side of the building;[45] indeed, the general scheme seems to have resembled closely that of the church of S. Vitale, at Ravenna, and of other eight-sided structures of the same

[42] Cf. Cedrenus, *op. cit.*, p. 681, early in the reign. It may be significant that it is during this same period that the bust of Christ assumes the central and dominant position on the consular diptychs: cf. J. Déer, "Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Geschichte* XIII, 1955, p. 103; and the discussion in Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 18–9 & 38.

[43] τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα ὁ Θεός σοι δίδωσιν, οὐκ ἐγώ. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiarum* III, 11, ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1834, pp. 136–7.

[44] Cf. R. Payne Smith, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus*, Oxford, 1860, p. 173; Michael Syrus, *op. cit.* II, pp. 334–6.

[45] *Theoph. Cont.* VI, 26, ed. Bekker, p. 373.

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period.[46] The example of S. Vitale shows us that the decoration of the apse was considered the most important feature in such a building, and therefore the first to be executed—so that if Justin II lived to see any decoration completed inside his Chrysotriclinium, he would probably have seen the image of the Rex Regnantium!

Whoever was responsible for the erection of the original mosaic image, its importance to us is clear: It seems almost incontrovertible that this was the ikon which was reproduced after the Iconoclasm by Michael III, who also employed it on his coins, as did Basil I; finally, another mosaic of a similar type was placed over the imperial doorway at Hagia Sophia.[47]

This being the case, the position of our Christ-type A on the coins of Justinian II becomes equally apparent: it must have been the model for the coin type of Michael III, and hence must have been considered by the artists and designers of the ninth century to be a faithful copy of the great image in the Chrysotriclinium as it had existed when the coin was struck; it may even have served as one of the models for their reproduction of the Palace mosaic, since we do not know what other evidence was available after the depredations of the Iconoclasts.

The concept of the deity as bestower of dominion, as *pambasileus*, which we find expressed at both turning points in the history of the Chrysotriclinium mosaic by Justin II and by Basil I, had of course great antiquity in the Mediterranean world; in the Greco-Roman sphere, the supreme *pambasileus* was most often Zeus-Jupiter, who had been called by that epithet as early as Homeric Greek

[46] Cf. Ebersolt, *Le grand palais de Constantinople*, Paris, 1910.

[47] Prof. Bellinger has advanced, in correspondence, an interesting suggestion about the two main types of enthroned Christ-figures from the Macedonian coinages, i. e. a "clumsy" figure seen on coins of Basil I (*BMC* II, Pl. L, 11–12), Alexander (*Ibid.*, Pl. LII, 1), Romanus I and Constantine VII (*Ibid.* LII, 6), and Romanus I and Christopher (*Ibid.*, Pl. LIII, 1); as against a more "elegant" one, seen with Leo VI (*Ibid.*, Pl. LI, 9), Constantine VII and Romanus I (*Ibid.* LII, 4 & 5), and on other unpublished specimens of the same reigns: that these two principal types may in fact be linked, one with the Chrysotriclinium mosaic so identified with Basil I, and the other with the tympanum mosaic of Hagia Sophia—suggesting, perhaps, that Leo VI might be the emperor of the latter mosaic, after all! This suggestion raises numerous fascinating hypotheses, none of them germane to the subject of the present work; it is our hope that Prof. Bellinger will see fit to work it out in more detail.

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times.[48] The concept of Jupiter as *pambasileus* doubtless played a part in the formation of the Roman triumphal imagery, in which the triumphator—and later the consul as well—assumed the garb of Jupiter Capitolinus.[49] A splendid illustration of the concept of all-powerful Jupiter in the imperial art was formerly in the Golden House of Nero at Rome, where a fresco of Jove the Thunderer occupied the center of a circular (domed?) ceiling, enthroned on clouds, and surrounded by an entourage of gods, goddesses, Tritons and other mythological figures.[50]

But the image of Zeus-Jupiter which most fully expressed to the ancients this concept of the world-ruler was the great chryselephantine statue at Olympia, the work of Phidias. Writers of all nations, pagans and Christians alike, paid tribute to the immense impression wrought upon the classical mind by this statue.[51] We can see from the statement of Origen that this one sculpture did not receive the condemnation which the Christians gave other images of the pagan divinities.[52]

The later history of the statue has been pieced together,[53] so that we may trace its movements after the abolition of the Olympic festivals in 394 A. D. by Theodosius I. At that time, Phidias' sculpture was still in its place, but when, during the reign of Theodosius II (406–450), the temple of Zeus at Olympia burned to the ground, the statue was no longer inside it. In the interval, it had been transported to Constantinople and set up in the palace of a certain Lausos, in a gallery otherwise known as the Lauseion, along with such other famous works of classical art as the Hera of Samos, the Knidian Aphrodite, and the Kairos of Lysippos. The Lauseion, however, burned in its turn in the year 462, and all these masterpieces perished together.

[48] Cf. an Orphic hymn, cited by C. F. H. Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poetas Graecos Leguntur* (W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Supplement), Leipzig, 1893, p. 134.
[49] Cf. above, pp. 37 f.
[50] J. P. Bellorus & M. A. Causseus, *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum, et sepulcri Nasonum*, Rome, 1750, p. 89; Appendix, Pl. VI. Is it entirely impossible that the Domus Aurea might still have been remembered when the Chrysotriclinium was being built?
[51] For a summary of ancient opinion, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III[1], Cambridge, 1940, Section 11, pp. 954–73.
[52] *Contra Celsum* VIII, 17; in Roberts & Donaldson, *The Ante-Nicene Christian Fathers* IV, New York, 1890, p. 646.
[53] Cf. Cook, *op. cit.* III[1], pp. 969–70.

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It was just at this time that there originated a legend which has long intrigued historians of Christian art. In the time of the Archbishop Gennadios, who was Patriarch of Constantinople from 458 to 471, a certain painter made an ikon, at the instigation of a pagan, portraying Christ in the likeness of Zeus (ἐν τάξει Διός); the painter's hand and arm withered in consequence of his blasphemous act, but he was healed miraculously through the intercession of Gennadios.[54]

The early versions of this legend do not amplify the words, "in the likeness of Zeus," but when the miracle was recounted by John of Damascus, the famous eighth-century iconophile described most explicitly his conception of a figure of Christ in the likeness of Zeus: "The hair on the head was painted as dividing on either side so that the eyes were not hidden. For in such manner the Greeks painted their Zeus."[55]

Such a legend would not have arisen, obviously, had there not been some occasion when images of Christ were considered to have been derived from those of the pagan Zeus; and modern scholarship has certainly been able to show that more than one pagan deity provided the antecedents for the appearance of Christ in one or another of the likenesses known to the Christian Empire. But with regard to the Phidian Zeus, there seems to be a particular link with the Pantocrator-Pambasileus type of Christ, which has often been advanced, and as often rejected,[56] especially since comparison with the best-known ancient reproduction of the Phidian statue, the famous coin of Elis which portrays on one side the enthroned figure of the god and on the other his head in profile, shows little resemblance to the familiar Christian image.[57] What had been lacking, however, was an opportunity to compare the two images in full-face, which is the key to the Christian representation. With the general acceptance of the

[54] From the lost "Ecclesiastical History" of Theodoros Anagnostes, written in the early sixth century: cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I. *Die Byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Turkvölker*, Budapest, 1943, p. 324; the text of this passage is in Migne, *P. G.* LXXXVI[1], col. 173.

[55] *De imaginibus* III, in Migne, *P. G.* XCIV, col. 1413: ἐν τῷ προσχήματι τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Σωτῆρος, γεγράφηκεν, ἐξ ἑκατέρου τὰς τρίχας ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς διεστώσας ὡς μὴ τὰς ὄψεις καλύπτεσθαι. τοιούτῳ γὰρ σχήματι Ἑλλήνων παῖδες τὸν Δία γράφουσι. On the importance of the hair in classical representations of divinity, cf. H.P.L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo, 1947, esp. p. 90, on the parted hair which became a key feature of such representations in the third century.

[56] As in J. E. Weis-Liebersdorf, *Christus- und Apostelbilder*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1902, pp. 18–28.

[57] A. Hekler, *Die Kunst des Phidias*, Stuttgart, 1924, p. 16, figs. 5–6.

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marble head of Zeus from Mylasa in Caria, now in Boston, as a good and accurate copy of the Phidian work (PLATE VIII, 37),[58] however, this has become possible. Viewed from full-face, this head represents a striking parallel to the appearance of our Type A head, both in its general proportions of one part in relation to another, and in the strongly marked parting of the hair which John Damascene so stressed.

The model for our Christ-type A, and before it for the great apse mosaic of the Chrysotriclinium, may indeed have been the Phidian Zeus. This would have been completely sensible, in terms of the ideation of the sixth century, when paganism had been so thoroughly suppressed (at least at the intellectual level) that there needed be no longer any fear of contamination in borrowing from its imagery in this overt way; yet not so long a time since the destruction of the statue itself that its overwhelmingly impressive appearance could have been forgotten (since the very story of Gennadios' miracle serves to demonstrate that copies of some sort of Zeus image must have been made). The great masterpiece of Phidias seems to have lived on, as one of the most important symbols of the divine Empire, of Christ's rule on Earth through the agency of the Basileus appointed by Him.

Our Type B of Christ portrait is characterized by the same attitude, garments, attributes and legend as Type A, but its facial features are wholly different: the head is longer, the face thin and triangular, the hair and beard scant and very curly (PLATE IX, 38). Our first source of information on this type is in the same passage in the Ecclesiastical History of Theodoros Anagnostes where we found the story of the painter healed by the Patriarch Gennadios.[59] After concluding his story of the miracle wrought by the benevolent archbishop, Theodoros goes on to say, "But one of the historians[60] says, that the other type of the Savior, the woolly and short-haired (or scant-haired), is taken for granted as the more truthful."[61] This description would seem to fit,

[58] L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1925, No. 25, pp. 59–61. Another numismatic example has been published by J. Liegle, *Der Zeus des Phidias*, Berlin, 1952.

[59] Cf. above, p. 58.

[60] Presumably one of his lost sources, Socrates, Sozomenus, or Theodoretus: cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* V, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1932, pp. 117–8.

[61] Migne, *P. G.* LXXXVI[1], col. 173: φησὶ δε ὁ ιστορῶν, ὅτι τὸ ἄλλο σχῆμα τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τὸ οὖλον καὶ ὀλιγότριχον, ὑπάρχει τὸ ἀληθέστερον. The word οὖλον is used to describe Negroes' hair from Herodotus' time onward.

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above all extant early portraits of Christ, the one used on the coins of Justinian II.

We learn more about this figure when Theophanes repeats the story of Gennadios, basing his remarks upon Theodoros, but adding some new information: "But certain of the historians say that the woolly and short-haired type is the more familiar in the time of the Savior."[62] These remarks are repeated by such later writers as Nicephorus Callistos,[63] and were transmitted to the seventeenth-century Athos Painter's Manual, which includes in its description of the appearance of Christ from the original and earliest sources, mention of "the head frizzy-haired tending to blond, the beard being black."[64] So we still seem to be dealing with our Type B; and since the type described is scarcely that of the customary Christ figure of late Byzantine times, the references to the antiquity of the image must be given great stress in considering the significance of the passage.

All these terms applied to this image of Christ, such as "more truthful," "more familiar in the time of the Savior," "as it has been transmitted by those who first saw it," point in the same direction as the anatomical characteristics of the portrait type itself would indicate: toward an origin in the Syrian and Palestinian sphere of early Christianity. And they also suggest strongly a link with the most important group of early portrait-ikons of Christ, the "acheiropoietai," the images not painted by human hands, but preserving the actual living appearance of Christ by miraculous means.[65]

We have a description of one such portrait of Christ said to have been painted during His lifetime, which was erected in the Praetorium of the palace of Pontius Pilate, the later church of S. Sophia at

[62] Ed. de Boor, p. 112: φασὶ δέ τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ὅτι τὸ οὖλον καὶ ὀλιγότριχον σχῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν.

[63] *Ecclesiasticae Historiae* XV, 23, in Migne, *P. G.* CXLVII, col. 68.

[64] οὐλότριχον τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ξανθὸν ὀλίγον, μέλαν δὲ τὸ γένειον: Denys de Fourna, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne* (in Greek), ed. Papadopoulo-Kerameus, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 226.

[65] Cf. the study by E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, N. F. III), Leipzig, 1899. The important place these supernaturally created images played in the iconophiles' defense against the attack on man-made idols has recently been stressed by Grabar, in *Martyrium* II, Paris, 1946, pp. 343–57, and in *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 19–21, 30–4 & *passim*; and esp. Kitzinger in *D. O. Papers* VIII, 1954, pp. 122–5.

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Jerusalem.[66] The sixth-century pilgrim Anthony of Placentia (the modern Piacenza) described the picture, and significantly enough, describes the head as having "capillos subannellatos."[67] So it would seem that here we are also dealing with a version of the same curly-haired portrait of Christ as in the previous cases. And the same is true of the famous letter purporting to have been written by John of Damascus to the Emperor Theophilus (John, of course, died before 754, while Theophilus' reign began only in 829), which states that Constantine the Great had the figure of Christ put on paintings and mosaics (in the Holy Land), and represented the Savior "as the old authorities had described, with eyebrows that joined, fine eyes, a long nose, *frizzy hair*, a black beard, flesh tones like His mother's, the color of wheat."[68] Although its authorship may be in doubt, there can be no question that this letter was a product of the Iconoclastic Controversy, or that the description is of our Type B.

The course of history has destroyed the monumental records which would make it possible to verify beyond all doubt the origin which these scraps of evidence suggest for this type of Christ-portrait; still there are a few pictures which may be cited for comparison with our Christ-type B, and which tend to bear out an attribution of this type to the area of Syria and Palestine.

In the famous Rabula Gospels in the Laurentian Library in Florence, whose colophon not only dates the manuscript very precisely to 586 A. D., but locates its place of composition in exactly the region of Syria, we find in the Dedication miniature a figure of Christ whose head, with its thick curly hair, short black beard, and triangular face, is remarkably close to our Type B (PLATE X, 40).[69] Another manuscript, Syrian in script, and dated to 634 A. D., has a miniature with a head of Christ still closer to our Type B.[70] The type

[66] Cf. H. Vincent & F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem* II[3], Paris, 1922, pp. 562–88.

[67] *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium* XXIII, ed. Pomialovsky, *Pravoslavnij Palestinskij Sbornik* XIII[3] (fasc. 39), 1895, p. 12. For a bibliography of previous publications, including variants of the text, cf. pp. x–xi.

[68] Migne, *P. G.* XCV, col. 349: τοῦ χάριν χαρακτηριζόμενος καθὼς ὁἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἱστοριχοὶ διαγράφουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν, σύνοφρυν, εὐόφθαλμον, ἐπίρρινον, οὐλόθριξιν.

[69] Guido Biagi, *Riproduzioni di Manoscritti Miniati. Cinquanta Tavole in fototipia della R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Florence, 1914, Pl. III (Laur. Plut. I. 56). For a good detail of this figure, cf. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, fig. 79.

[70] Codex 3, 1300 Aug., in the Wolfenbüttel Library: O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel* IV (II Abth., *Die*

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appears also in a fresco from a burial-crypt at Abu-Girgeh (near Alexandria), which Morey dates as post-sixth-century (PLATE IX, 39);[71] the radical difference between this type and the beardless youth who more customarily represented Christ in Alexandrian art is explained by Morey as the result of the increasing rapprochement of Egypt and Syria after Chalcedon (451), with its accompanied infiltration of Syrian monks and their foundations, as well as their theological principles, into Egypt.[72]

The very fact that this type, although preserved in literature and memory, tended to disappear after the seventh century, when Syria fell to the Moslems, seems to provide negative evidence for its identification with that area. A reflection of the type does appear again in the eleventh century, however, in a mosaic at S. Sophia at Kiev, and again in 1164, in a fresco at Nerez, and in 1197, in a fresco at Neredicy; this group was distinguished by Ainalov as the "Priest-Christ," an interpretation based upon the apocryphal tradition that Christ was a priest in the Temple at Jerusalem[73]—perhaps another indication of the indissoluble bond which seems to tie this type of Christ-image to its Palestinian origins.

This is a very different type of Christ, with very different associations and implications, from the imperial Rex Regnantium image which we first investigated. Why this type should have appeared together with the other on the coins of Justinian II, and what the total significance of the various combinations of figures may have been, can only be determined when we know what the motives for Justinian II's innovations were in the first place, and what the circumstances were in which these innovations were made.

Augusteischen Handschriften, B. I), Wolfenbüttel, 1884, p. 186, No. 2045. I owe possession of a photograph of this miniature to the kind generosity of Prof. Weitzmann, who has more recently photographed another MS. containing a miniature showing the same type of Christ: this is the only figural miniature in the Gospels in the Mariamana Church at Diyarbakr in Turkey. This MS., which dates from the seventh century also, is a product of the Syrian sphere of influence. There is also a miniature of this type of Christ in an unpublished Syrian MS. of the twelfth or thirteenth century, from the Sachau Collection, Berlin.

[71] Municipalité d'Alexandrie, *Rapport sur la marche du service du Musée en 1912*, Alexandria, 1913, Pl. VII.

[72] C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, pp. 81–2.

[73] D. V. Ainalov, "Nouveau type iconographique du Christ," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* II, 1928, pp. 19–24 & Pl. III.

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COIN LEGENDS

In concluding our analysis of the various representations and symbols employed on the coins of Justinian II, we need to consider the legends which accompanied these types, since they can frequently illuminate the pictorial representations on the coins. We have already seen this in the case of the "Rex Regnantium" inscription, which seems to be directly applicable, in its first occurrence, to a specific Christ-image employed by Justinian II, and hence was applied only by transference to his second Christ-type.[1]

As regards the legends used on the first and last of Justinian II's coin types, on which he (and later his son as well) wears the traditional chlamys-covered costume familiar on earlier imperial issues, we have established that the inscriptions also follow general usage on both obverse and reverse.[2]

The same cannot be said of the two legends associated with the emperor's appearance in loros-costume, on the reverses of his two Christ-image coins: The legends he used with his name on these coins, "Justinianus Servus Christi" and "Justinianus Multos Annos," have no direct prototypes in Byzantine numismatic practice up to this time, just as the coin types with which they are associated are completely unprecedented. They are identifiable, however, as acclamations, and as such may be found in the Book of Ceremonies.[3] But to establish the context in which these legends were selected to accompany these particular coin types (or, perhaps more accurately, to discover why these legends dictated themselves as the inevitable ones to accompany these types), it will be necessary to delve into the background of the phrases themselves.[4]

[1] Cf. above, pp. 47ff.
[2] Cf. above, p. 31.
[3] Cf. below, pp. 67f.
[4] Particularly useful are the studies of the subject by P. E. Schramm, in *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* I, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 141–6, repeated without significant alteration in an article, "Der Titel, 'Servus Jesu Christi' Kaiser Ottos III," *B. Z.* XXX, 1929–30, pp. 424–30. Also of interest is K. Schmitz, *Ursprung und Geschichte der Devotionsformeln bis zu ihrer Aufnahme in die fränkische Königsurkunde* (*Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen* 81, ed. U. Stutz), Stuttgart, 1931.

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The appelation "Servus Christi" is, of course, but a variant of the broader expression, "servant of God," which may be found in the Old Testament, where it was applied particularly to Moses.[5] Subsequently, the Apostles frequently termed themselves the "Servants of Christ" in their epistles: we find the formula used by Paul,[6] who once included his assistant Timothy,[7] as well as by James,[8] Peter,[9] and Jude.[10] With this sort of precedent, it is not surprising that this expression of humility should have been popular as a term of self-description among all orders of the Christian clergy. In addition, the phrase seems to have been a favorite with Constantine the Great, according to the *Vita Constantini*, which quotes him as using it on numerous occasions;[11] it has been the opinion of some modern scholars that Constantine was particularly influenced in his choice of this phrase by the Old Testament, and the connection of the term with the person of Moses.[12]

As an expression of humility, the phrase continued to enjoy great popularity in the West, largely under the influence of St. Augustine, who admonished the mighty of this world to remember their human frailty.[13] The title was used by Pope Hilarus (461–8),[14] and an interesting variant survives in which Pope John VII (705–7) declares himself to be the servant of the mother of God.[15] It was in the same spirit that Pope Gregory I, at the beginning of the seventh century, adopted for himself the title "servus servorum Dei,"[16] which has en-

[5] Deuteronomy xxxiv, 5; Joshua i, 1; etc.
[6] Romans i, 1; Titus i, 1.
[7] Philippians i, 1.
[8] James i, 1.
[9] II Peter i, 1.
[10] Jude i, 1.
[11] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* I, 6, ed. Heikel, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* VII, Leipzig, 1902, p. 9: καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷα πιστὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς θεράπων, τοῦτ' ἔπραττε καὶ ἐκήρυττε, δοῦλον ἄντικρυς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ θεράποντα τοῦ παμβασιλέως ὁμολογῶν ἑαυτόν. *Ibid.* II, 29, p. 54, in a purported letter of Constantine, referring to himself: ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ θεράποντι τοῦ Θεοῦ. The phrase recurs throughout the *Vita Constantini*.
[12] Cf. V. Schultze, "Quellenuntersuchungen zur Vita Constantini," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* XIV, 1894, p. 530.
[13] *Civitas Dei* V, 24.
[14] De Rossi, *op. cit.* II[1], p. 147, n. 12: Christi famuli Hilari episcopi.
[15] *Ibid.* II[1], p. 418, n. 15: Beati Dei genitricis servus Johannes indignus episcopus fecit domus sancte Dei genitricis.
[16] According to his biographer, Joannes Diaconus, Gregory assumed the title in order to give a lesson in humility to his contemporary, John, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had just assumed the title of oecumenical patriarch:

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joyed almost chief place among all these epithets ever since in the favor of all ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[17] The same tradition was present in the ruling class of the laity in the West even before Carolingian times,[18] and continued in use throughout the middle ages; a particularly interesting occurrence was the assumption by the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III of the title "Servus Jesu Christi et Romanorum imperator augustus secundum voluntatem Dei salvatorisque nostrique liberatoris" in 998 A. D. when he was beginning a campaign against the heathen Slavs of Poland.[19]

In the Eastern Roman Empire, on the other hand, where the position of the imperial authority in relation to the church was somewhat different, the title in its various forms, although not unknown among the less exalted,[20] was never common in the imperial titulature at any time, and seems to be unprecedented before its use on Justinian II's coins. In its Greek form, it was employed on coins by the last Iconoclast emperor, Theophilus,[21] while Theodore the Studite applied the contrary epithet "Slave of Satan" to the Iconoclast Emperor Leo V.[22]

How, then, are we to explain the use of this phrase at precisely this time? It has been suggested that its introduction in the Byzantine coinage came about, not from Christian precedent at all, but from the

Vita S. Gregorii II, 1, in Migne, *P. L.* LXXV, col. 87. But whereas it is true that Gregory used the phrase frequently while Pope in his correspondence and his homilies (Homily on Job, Migne, *P. L.* LXXV, col. 510; Homily on Ezekiel, *P. L.* LXXVI, col. 785; Homily on the Gospels, *P. L.* LXXVI, col. 1075), it is equally certain that he had already used the epithet to refer to himself before becoming Pope: "...ego Gregorius servus servorum Dei..." is to be found in a monastic charter of donation, dated 28 December 587 A. D.: cf. S. Gregory, *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. L. M. Hartmann, *M. G. H.*, *epistolae* II, appendix I, p. 437.

[17] Cf. the article, "Servus Servorum Dei," by Leclercq, in Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire* XV[1], cols. 1360–3.

[18] Déer cites interesting examples of the usage from both the Lombard kings of Italy and the Asturian kings of Spain, between the eighth and the tenth centuries: *Schweizer Beiträge* XIII, 1955, p. 107, n. 269 & 271.

[19] Cf. the works of Schramm cited above, n. 4.

[20] Cf. Th. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia*, Berlin, 1927, p. 13, for an altar inscription wherein the monk Hyakinthos calls himself the slave of the Virgin. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 42, refers to seals, presumably not imperial, on which the owners refer to themselves by this formula in one style or another.

[21] Cf. *BMC* II, Pl. XLVIII, 18.

[22] Theodore Studite, *Epistolae* II, 75, in Migne, *P. G.* XCIX, col. 1312A.

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Moslems;[23] it is pointed out that on some Moslem coins of about this time, it is customary for the Caliph to call himself "Slave of Allah."[24] These are, of course, the Arab coins based upon models of the Byzantine issues of Heraclius and Constans II, commonly called Arab-Byzantine, about which we shall have more to say in the next chapter.[25] The fact is that the title "Slave of God" had been one of the attributes of the caliphs since the death of Mohammed; it occurs in an inscription of Moawiyah, dated to A. H. 58, or 677–8 A. D.[26] Its origin is Koranic, for Mohammed refers to himself as the Slave of God.[27] At another point in the Koran, interestingly enough, in telling the apocryphal story of the birth of Jesus, the narrator says that the infant Christ cried out, "I am the servant of God!"[28]

Further investigation, however, reveals that the expression was still more common in Arab usage. The Arabic word for "Slave of God" is Abdullah; this is easily recognizable as one of the most common of Moslem given names, as was already the case by the time of Abd el-Malik.[29] Similar "slave-of" names, moreover, were in use in pre-Koranic times, so that Mohammed's practice is really a continuation of a long-established Arab tradition, rather than an innovation of great immediate significance; the antagonist of Justinian II, the Caliph Abd el-Malik, had a name which meant "Slave of the King," without application to any specific ruler, mundane or celestial, being implied. There were Abd-el- other names, especially of the pagan gods of Arabia, such as Abd el-Ilah.[30] So common was this type of terminology, that it seems rather unlikely that its use on an extremely limited

[23] I. von Karabacek, as in *Kusejr Amra*, Vienna, 1907, Text, p. 219.
[24] G. F. Hertzberg, *Geschichte der Byzantiner und des osmanischen Reiches* (W. Oncken, *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen* II, 7), Berlin, 1883, p. 63.
[25] Cf. John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in The British Museum* II, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins*, London, 1956, esp. pp. xxxvii, lv, & 32–42, Nos. 104–36, etc. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 67–74, discusses this series and makes some interesting contributions to the study of the iconography of some of the issues.
[26] G. C. Miles," Early Islamic Inscriptions near Ta'if in the Hijaz," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* VII, 1948, pp. 236–41.
[27] Surah 72, Verse 19.
[28] Surah 19, Verse 31.
[29] For example, the great foe of the Umayyads in the Hejaz was named Abdullah Ibn az-Zubeir; cf. below, p. 72.
[30] I am indebted to Dr. G. C. Miles for much of the foregoing information.

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series of coins, of almost exclusively local circulation, would have been even noticed at the Byzantine court, much less imitated on the imperial coinage.[31]

This question of the relationship between the Byzantine and the Moslem coinages is only a part of the larger problem of possible numismatic influences between the two world powers, which we propose to examine, however tentatively, in the following chapter; in the meantime, it should not appear too much like anticipating our conclusions to indicate that, if chronology is any guide, there is very little likelihood that the coins of Type II on which the "Servus Christi" legend was used were issued as a reply to any action of the Moslems, or were dependent in any way upon Moslem influence within Byzantium; in the circumstances, it is far more probable that the inspiration for the legend, as well as for the iconography, is to be found within the purely Christian tradition of the Byzantine state, than as a consequence of foreign and completely alien developments. An imperial tradition for the use of the term "servus Christi" did exist, if only in the usage of Constantine the Great; and it is to such a precedent that we would expect Justinian II to have turned, rather than to that of his contemporary rival, the Moslem Caliph Abd el-Malik.

The acclamation "Multos Annos" is by nó means as rare in the imperial tradition as is the phrase "servus Christi." Acclamations for longevity, including this one, had an important part in the imperial ritual as far back as the first century A. D.;[32] nor were they by any means new at that time, having a long history of Hellenistic usage behind them. In the Byzantine epoch, the Latin phrase "Multos Annos" was translated into its Greek equivalent πολλοὶ χρόνοι, in which form it recurs throughout the Book of Ceremonies; but in its archaic Latin form, quaintly graecisized into οἱ μουλτούσανοι, it was preserved in the special ceremonials of the great festivals of the Christian year,[33] as well as among the Latin acclamations chanted by the Chancellors of the Quaestor at Christmas.[34]

[31] This is also the conclusion reached by Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 70–1.
[32] Cf. A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells," *Röm. Mitt.* 49, 1934, pp. 86–8, esp. p. 88, n. 2.
[33] *De Cer.* I, 1, ed. Vogt I, p. 16.
[34] *Ibid.* I, 83 (74), ed. Vogt II, p. 169.

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There is still another and particularly interesting use of the acclamation, heard in a series of acclamations and responses chanted on various occasions to the emperor or emperors: it was heard at Christmas,[35] at the imperial coronation,[36] on the eve of a great reception,[37] and on a variety of occasions in the Hippodrome.[38] This acclamation, which was delivered in verse form, reads in part as follows:

πολλοὶ ὑμῖν χρόνοι
οἱ θεράποντες τοῦ κυρίου.

It thus combines, in one expression, the words of both the legends we have been examining!

[35] *Ibid.* I, 2, ed. Vogt I, p. 29.
[36] *Ibid.* I, 47 (38), ed. Vogt II, p. 4.
[37] *Ibid.* I, 71 (62), ed. Vogt II, p. 88.
[38] *Ibid.* I, 78 (69) & 80 (71), ed. Vogt II, pp. 124, 126, 134–5, 155 and 156.

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As we have just noticed, the suggestion has been made that the design, and particularly the inscriptions, of the new coin types of Justinian II were created under the influence of the contemporary coinage of the Moslem Caliphate. This theory is only one aspect of a more general thesis that the entire motivation behind Justinian II's creating a new coinage was the Byzantine reaction to the reform of Moslem official procedures instituted by Abd el-Malik during the first reign of Justinian II.

The hypothesis that the Moslem reformed coinage met with opposition, and hence reaction, by the Byzantine imperial authorities finds support in the account given by Theophanes of the quarrels leading up to the battle of Sebastopolis in 692,[1] among which he cites side-by-side with Abd el-Malik's objections to the deportation of the populace of Cyprus to the mainland, Justinian II's refusal to accept gold coins struck by the Moslems in payment of the tribute owing to him.[2] Neither of our other major sources, however, offers this as a cause for the war: Nicephorus imputes the rupture solely to Justinian's *hubris*;[3] Michael Syrus gives the deportation of the population of Cyprus to the Byzantine mainland as its only cause.[4]

The very fact that it was the Moslems who invaded Roman territory, rather than the other way round, would indicate that it was the former who felt themselves to be the aggrieved party. It is difficult to see how this would have been the case had the only point at issue been the question of whether or not Justinian II would accept their coins in payment of the tribute he had exacted from them a few years earlier. If he found their coins unacceptable, and refused the tribute in that form, it was scarcely the Arabs' responsibility to force it on him, but rather his problem to compel them to offer it in what he deemed proper form; similarly, if the emperor

[1] Cf. above, p. 10.
[2] *Theoph.*, p. 365. This account is accepted at its face value by Gibb, *Encyc. of Islam* I², p. 77, and by Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 67–8.
[3] *Niceph.*, p. 36.
[4] *Mich. Syr.*, p. 470.

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considered it objectionable for the Moslems to strike coins other than imitations of his own types (as they had been doing), then it was up to *him* to stop *them*. In short, Justinian II's refusal of the Moslem tribute could under no circumstances be construed as a reason for them to attack him. Nor can we see any economic or other reason the Moslems might have had to attempt to force their gold money into circulation within the Byzantine Empire. By contrast, not only does the Cyprus affair provide adequate motivation for a Moslem protest, but it explains quite comprehensibly the actual sequence of events as they took place.

But what, then, was this newly-minted money of Abd el-Malik's? Theophanes appears to be alluding, and has been taken to refer, to the Moslem reform coinage, which had its part in the general policy of Islamization begun within the Caliphate by that monarch.

When the Caliphs, upon the total collapse of the Sassanian power, took over the structure as well as the territories of the Persian Empire, they found themselves so suddenly in command of so enormous an administrative system that it was obviously more desirable to permit the old forms and methods of routine government to continue, rather than to attempt a revision of procedures according to their own nomadic customs. Even more was this true in the lands they conquered from the Byzantine Empire, Syria and Palestine and Egypt, where Christian scribes and accountants sustained a government whose chiefs could scarcely read or write, and certainly could not count.

Illustrative of this stage in the history of the Moslem state is the story of Athanasius Bar Goumay, an Edessan Christian who controlled the administration of Egypt under the titular charge of Abd el-Malik's brother, Abd el-Aziz. Athanasius grew so wealthy in this work, albeit with full honesty of action, that he was able to build or repair many Christian churches in both Egypt and Syria. When he returned home at the end of his service, Moslem enemies denounced him to the Caliph for having appropriated all the riches of Egypt for his own private gain. Abd el-Malik, unperturbed, summoned the Edessan to his presence, and told him that it was not deemed suitable for a Christian to be quite so rich. So Athanasius gave the king money until the latter said to stop, and Athanasius went away still a very wealthy man.[5]

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 475–7.

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At this period, all records were kept in Greek, and all figures recorded in the unwieldy, but workable, Greek numeral system. As regards its money, the Caliphate at first made no attempt to disturb the numismatic *status quo* which had existed in tacit agreement between the Byzantines and the Sassanians. The former, being in possession of the major sources of gold ore known to the ancient world, struck coins of that metal, which passed as bullion far beyond the borders of their Empire;[6] the Sassanians, on the other hand, struck a far greater volume of silver coins than the Byzantines, while their gold coinage was issued in token quantity.

Until eighty years after the Hegira, the Caliphs continued to strike silver coins which were copied with the utmost fidelity from the Sassanian types, to which were added marginal inscriptions in Arabic giving religious formulae as well as the names of issuing governors, etc.[7] In gold and bronze, the Caliphate seems to have begun coining somewhat later, and then in imitation of the Byzantines, especially the types of Heraclius and of Constans II.[8]

It was Abd el-Malik, however, who took the initiative to alter this state of affairs, and, more particularly, to weaken the hold of the Christians upon the rank and file of his administration. In 81 A. H. (700 A. D.) he took serious steps to see that all state records should be kept in Arabic, instead of Greek;[9] but even before this he had begun the process by the introduction of a totally new, "iconoclastic" coinage, in both gold and silver. These coins renounced the stylized

[6] Cf. H. L. Adelson, *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 138), N. Y., 1957, for illuminating information on ways in which this situation could be turned to the extra profit of the minting authorities.

[7] John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum* I. *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coinage*, London, 1941, is the best and most up-to-date study of this coinage.

[8] For the gold, cf. G. C. Miles, "Some Early Arab Dinars," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* III, 1948, p. 97, No. 1, & Pl. XVII, 1; also J. Walker, "Two Arab-Byzantine Dinars," *British Museum Quarterly* XX, 1955, pp. 15–16. Now, the whole field of the Arab-Byzantine coinages is surveyed in true corpus form in Walker's *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum* II. *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins*, London, 1956, pp. 1–83 (and Introduction, pp. xv–liii), which includes all published and otherwise known coins of this type.

[9] J. de Goeje, *Liber expugnationis regionum, auctore Imamo Ahmed ibn Jahja ibn Djabihr al-Beladsori* (i. e., Ahmed ibn Yahya al Baladhuri, *The Book of Conquests*), London, 1863–66, p. 301.

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symbols, the ruler-images, modified crosses and fire-altars, which had characterized the Moslem coinage until then; instead, they bore merely the Arabic inscriptions of identification, and pious expressions, arranged in conformity with the shape of the coin.

As late as 84 A. H. (703 A. D.), Arab-Sassanian coins were still being struck;[10] but the beginning of the new coinage dates nevertheless from several years earlier. The literary information in the Arab chronicles which has a bearing on this problem has been assembled with a view to giving us a general picture of the Reform itself, so that we can arrive at some general consensus of the opinions of the sources.[11] Of the seven Arab historians who refer to the Reform, two date it in 74 A. H. (693–4 A. D.); two date it in 75 A. H.; and three in yet the following year.

What is especially clear from all these texts is the fact that the history of the Reform was indissolubly linked with the career of el-Hajjaj ibn-Yusuf, Abd el-Malik's great schoolmaster-turned-general, who was the one person most responsible for the triumph of the Umayyad cause over its opponents in the contest for the Caliphate between the years 685 and 695 A. D.

In 692, Hajjaj was at last victorious over Abdullah ibn-az-Zubeir, who had hitherto held Mecca and the Hejaz against the Umayyad party. Two years were then spent by Hajjaj in repairing the damage wrought by civil war (he had not hesitated to bombard the Holy City itself during his siege, and even the sacred Kaaba had been gravely damaged). It was only in the year 75 A. H. that he was appointed governor of Iraq, where his talents were required to deal with the turbulent spirits of the citizens of the city of Kufa, in an area where the Shiite partisans of Ali were still numerous.[12] It is clear from the chroniclers that it was only after Hajjaj had taken command in Iraq that the Reform coinage was instituted; this being the case, the effective date of the Reform must be placed, at the earliest, in 695 A. D., or 75 A. H.[13]

We have no more reliable evidence, of course, than that provided by the dated Moslem coins themselves; and this evidence does not

[10] Walker, *Catalogue* II, p. liii, n. 4.
[11] Cf. H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et la métrologie musulmane* (extract from the *Journal Asiatique*), Paris, 1882.
[12] Cf. Gibb, *loc. cit.*, and Walker, *Catalogue* I, p. lxiv.
[13] Walker, *Catalogue* I, pp. cxlviii–cxlix.

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contradict the information given by the chronicles. The first indisputable and wholly reformed dinar (gold piece) appears at Damascus, dated 77 A. H.;[14] the earliest known reformed dirhem (silver) is dated two years later.[15]

This chronological information makes it reasonably certain that the Moslem Reform coinage cannot have been a factor contributing to the rupture of Arab-Byzantine relations which took place in 691 A. D., and to the battle of Sebastopolis in 692, at a time when our sources specifically state that Hajjaj was still conducting his campaign in the Hejaz. The date of the battle is placed in the latter year, and the rupture of relations in the former, by Theophanes, whose chronology at this period is fixed with admirable precision by his mention of a solar eclipse only two years later. This was the eclipse of A. M. 6186, which took place at the third hour on Sunday, the fifth of October (Hyperberetaios according to Theophanes, a Macedonian month-name rarely used in Byzantine writings).[16] This corresponds exactly with the empirical eclipse-tables set up by modern mathematical computation, according to which an eclipse occurred on a date corresponding to October fifth, a Sunday, in 693 A. D.[17] A chart of the path of totality, moreover, shows that the eclipse reached maximum at Constantinople (it was not total there, but to the south, in a path across Asia Minor, the Hellespont, Macedonia including Thessalonika, and the Balkans) between 8:30 and 9:00 a. m., a time corresponding closely to the "third hour."[18]

In the circumstances, it is equally improbable that the Moslem Reform coinage could have had, *per se*, any direct influence upon the issue of new coins such as Types II and III by Justinian II. Coins of these types, although not so numerous as those of Type I, the other type attributed to his first reign, are still sufficiently common to indicate that they must have been issued well before the very end of that reign; yet the Moslem Reform was begun so very shortly before his downfall in 695, if it preceded that event at all, that it would be difficult indeed to imagine how so complex a procedure of invention

[14] *Ibid.* II, p. liii, & p. 84, No. 186.
[15] *Ibid.* II, p. liii, & p. 104, No. Kh. 4 (in Cairo).
[16] *Theoph.*, p. 367; the eclipse is also mentioned by *Mich. Syr.*, p. 474.
[17] J. Fr. Schroeter, *Spezieller Kanon der zentralen Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse*, Kristiania, 1923, Tafel XII.
[18] *Ibid.*, Karte 12b.

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and execution could have been carried through during the period of a few short months which is all we may allow for the creation of these wholly original designs.

One other possibility of a way in which Moslem coins might have provoked a Byzantine reaction remains to be considered: this is the possible influence of Moslem coins which were not the actual reformed dinars, but Abd el-Malik's previous tentative issues of gold in free imitation of earlier Byzantine types.[19] Although the earliest dated example of this sort of Arab gold coin was struck only in 74 A. H. (693–4 A. D.),[20] it is generally accepted that certain of the undated issues, and particularly the type with three standing figures, modelled on the coins of the latter part of the reign of Heraclius,[21] are of a slightly earlier date. Similarly, in the silver, various experiments toward the development of new types seem to have been made just before the actual Reform itself, with two specimens dating from the year 75 A. H. having been noted.[22]

The principal argument against this thesis is the extreme scarcity of examples of this coinage, as well as the wide variety of types found among the relatively few surviving specimens.[23] This was plainly a

[19] This is the theory advanced by R. S. Lopez in his article, "Mohammed and Charlemagne: A Revision," *Speculum* XVIII, 1943, pp. 14–38, esp. pp. 24–6. Lopez combines Arab and Byzantine sources to arrive at a new interpretation of the events of 692, beginning with the question of watermarks on paper, mentioned below, p. 76. In the outcome, Lopez sees the Moslem Reform as a step which *reconciled* the Byzantines to the Arabs, and mollified feelings which had been exacerbated by the Arab-Byzantine imitations.

[20] Cf. Walker, *Catalogue* II, pp. v–vi. Before this coin was discovered by Dr. Miles, the earliest known dated coin was of 76 A. H.: H. Sauvaire, "La plus ancienne monnaie arabe d'Abdul-Melek," *Revue de la numismatique belge* 3:IV, 1860, pp. 325–7 & Pl. XV, 1; and Walker, *Catalogue* II, pp. 42–3, Nos. P 13 & P 14. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 68 and elsewhere, dates the beginning of this effort in 73 A. H., but up until the present time, no coins of this date have come to light.

[21] Cf. Walker, *Catalogue* II, p. 18, No. 54.

[22] One of these, with a standing-Caliph figure on the reverse of an Arab-Sassanian coin, in the Zubow Coll., is published by Walker, *Catalogue* I, p. 25; the other is a unique dirhem, described as a "mihrab" type, in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, published by George C. Miles, "Mihrab and 'Anazah: A Study in Early Islamic Iconography," in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, Locust Valley, 1952, pp. 156–71. This coin was probably struck at the Damascus mint. The iconography of these and other of the "experimental" Umayyad coins is discussed by Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 68 ff.

[23] Remarked by Walker, *Catalogue* II, p. 18.

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small, token coinage, minted only for local circulation, which would scarcely have figured in international financial transactions in any important way; as the Byzantines had tolerated the Sassanians' striking such limited series of gold coins, they had no more reason to object to the Moslems doing the same. Nor have any specimens of this type of coin been found in contemporary Byzantine coin hoards, as Reform coins have.[24] The crude modifications of the original types and legends, and the addition of a limited number of Moslem religious expressions, seem scarcely enough provocation for either a war or a numismatic-iconographic revolution, even had these pieces reached Constantinople in any large quantity, as it is highly doubtful that they did.

The most reasonable conclusion open to us is to eliminate the Arab coins as a factor in the struggle between Justinian II and Abd el-Malik, especially since a fully satisfactory and more logical *casus belli* exists in the Cyprus incident. If it be objected that Theophanes' statement is too unequivocal to be wholly disregarded (although there is little about his accuracy of detail, particularly at this murky period, to merit such unalloyed confidence), we may suggest that possibly coins were concerned with the outbreak of hostilities, but thatTheophanes had gotten things turned round: the Arabs were objecting to Justinian II's new coins bearing Christ-types, rather than the other way round. In any case, we are obliged to conclude that in order to find the stimulus which produced the new coin types of Justinian II, we must look elsewhere.[25]

[24] Cf. S. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 67), New York, 1935.

[25] This is essentially the conclusion of Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 71, and of Walker, *Catalogue* II, p. lv; yet Grabar still follows Theophanes' account of the cause of the Battle of Sebastopolis.

It might be remarked in passing that a somewhat similar situation, in which a great deal had been taken for granted on vague assumptions which have proven, upon examination, insusceptible of proof, exists with regard to the question of direct Moslem influence upon Leo III's decision in favor of his Iconoclastic measures. For an objective evaluation of early Moslem iconoclastic attitudes, cf. K. A. C. Creswell, "The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam," *Ars Islamica* XI–XII, 1946, pp. 159–66. Cf. also Kitzinger's comments, *D. O. Papers* VIII, 1954, p. 134, and the remarks of Ladner in *Mediaeval Studies* II, 1940, pp. 129–35. The most recent study of the Edict of Yazid is A. A. Vasiliev's "The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A. D. 721," *D. O. Papers* IX–X, 1956, pp. 23–47. The consensus of modern opinion, among both Byzantinists and Arabists, would be that influences

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Before we do so, however, we must make one further remark. Now that we have established a rough date for the institution of the Moslem Reform coinage, and have tentatively assumed the priority of Justinian II's new coins over that Reform, it is tempting to ask whether the opposite influence might not have been operative: whether, that is, Abd el-Malik's iconoclastic measures might not have been at least accelerated, though not necessarily *au fond* caused, by the appearance of these coins bearing the portrait of Christ, which it would have been repugnant, at the very least, for a faithful Moslem to use?

There are one or two passages in the Arab historians, as a matter of fact, which might, freely interpreted, give credence to this view. One is in al-Baladhuri, describing how the Byzantines bought papyrus from Egypt with their gold money.[26] According to this oft-repeated story, Abd el-Malik introduced the practice of using pious Moslem phrases in the protocols which were inscribed on these papyri to guarantee their authenticity; the king of the Romans objected to this, and demanded that it be stopped, or else he would place insulting mention of the Moslems' prophet on the coins. And so Abd el-Malik made his own coins instead. In some ways, this sounds more like a *post facto* rationalization of the course of events, than an accurate description of the way things happened at the time; but the idea that Abd el-Malik initiated his new coins as a result of the appearance of Byzantine gold bearing an image unacceptable to the faithful Moslem, is a persuasive one.

Another document, cited at second hand, ascribes to one Picendi, Coptic bishop of Keft, a description of the Arabs taking the Byzantine gold coins which bore the Cross and the image of Christ, effacing this figure and symbol, and writing instead the name of their prophet and of their caliph.[27] There can be little doubt that a good deal of the Moslem gold coinage—if not almost all of it—was produced by melting down or restriking Byzantine issues, as the lower weight standard of the dinar in relation to the solidus suggests.

flowed in both directions, while there was ample justification for the steps taken in the native tradition of each side.

[26] De Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 240. Cf. Walker, *Catalogue* II, p. liv.

[27] E. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte et sur quelques contrées voisines* I, Paris, 1811, p. 343. The pertinence of this passage was indicated to me by Dr. Miles.

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The non-Arabist can only raise a question of this sort; but the problem clearly merits more thorough examination, in terms of the evidence on the Islamic side, than it has yet received.[28]

[28] This would seem to be implied by Walker, *Catalogue* II, p. lv, as well as by Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 71. It cannot be claimed as a new idea, of course: It occurs, for example, in Macdonald, *Coin Types*, pp. 235–7. (On the other hand, it might be well to note that Macdonald states erroneously on p. 238 that the head of Christ reappears on the coins of Michael I. It is not until the reign of Michael III, as we have noted, that this takes place.)

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE COINS OF JUSTINIAN II

If the political events of Justinian II's first reign fail to provide any convincing reason for the introduction of the portraits of Christ onto his coins, there is another sort of event from that same period to which these numismatic innovations may be linked. This was pointed out two decades ago by Grabar, who wrote, "Un concile qu'un empereur avait réuni en 692, dans son palais, s'était montré hostile à la doctrine romaine et, en matière d'art, avait ordonné la représentation obligatoire du Christ, sous ses traits physiques; l'empereur qui avait pris l'initiative de ce concile, se déclarant *servus Christi*, s'empressa de suivre le nouveau canon, et fit graver sur ses monnaies cette icone de Jésus que nous venons de signaler."[1]

The council referred to was of course the Quinisexte, which in one of its canons concerned itself specifically with the representation of Christ, and which thus seemed to Grabar as well as to most other students of the subject of pre-Iconoclastic icon-worship[2] directly related to the numismatic innovations with which we are dealing. Hitherto we have referred to this council only briefly, as the cause of a rupture between Constantinople and Rome.[3] Now let us examine it more closely, in order to see not only the specific phrases which concern us most directly, but the general character of the council as a whole, with a view to understanding both the basis of disagreement with Rome, and the background of our own particular problem.[4]

The text of the Canons of the Quinisexte Council is given in full in Mansi,[5] and is summarized, with a certain amount of commentary, in Hefele-Leclercq.[6] The Canons give us, in terms of the conditions

[1] *L'empereur*, p. 165, à propos of the two "historical" images of Christ on these coins.
[2] Esp. Ladner in *D. O. Papers* VII, 1953, p. 22 (much stronger than in *Mediaeval Studies* II, 1940, p. 137).
[3] Cf. above, pp. 10ff.
[4] See now the discussion by Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 77–91, which however does not obviate our own analysis, since Grabar arrives at such different conclusions in regard to the physical evidence.
[5] *Op. cit.* XI, cols. 921–1006.
[6] *Op. cit.* III[1], pp. 562–75.

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they were intended to correct, a closely-observed though one-sided picture of the life of Byzantium at the end of the seventh century, a time when priests might take part in theatrical performances, cheer on the Blues or the Greens in the Hippodrome, or even keep houses of ill fame; when monks did not wish to be confined to their cloisters, but wandered into the cities and towns, acting not only as preachers but even as merchants or conjurors; where the laymen of the city consulted all manner of soothsayers and astrologers, and the countrymen retained many of their old pagan beliefs and practices when they bore upon the daily relationship to the natural world upon which their livelihood depended.

What these disciplinary Canons reflect, however, is not truly a world of frivolity, but a profoundly disturbed and dislocated one, when a great empire was in the act of dissolving into its component parts, torn by dissension within and pressed by enemies without who were not just the unlettered barbarians of earlier times, but civilized adherents of ways of life and thought which represented a far more serious threat to the continuity of Greco-Roman Christian culture than mere barbarism could ever have meant.

Such were the circumstances under which Justinian II summoned his Quinisexte Council, wishing to make up for the fact that no general church council had taken up the new problems of ecclesiastic and lay discipline for over two centuries.

The Canons of this Council, then, had two principal objectives: the regularization of all Christian practices throughout the Oecumene, and the eradication of any non-orthodox elements in Christian worship which might tend to endanger the purity of the Faith. Basic questions of theology were not considered; the Quinisexte Council, which was regarded at the time and afterward as a simple continuation of the sittings of the Sixth Council, rested upon the theological decisions and definitions of that and the preceding oecumenical councils. The Canons of the Quinisexte Council represented what their authors regarded as logical extensions of these definitions into the everyday practice of the Christian faithful.

The largest single group of these Canons is, therefore, related directly to discipline within the Church itself. The purpose of these acts was, more or less by definition, to provide for the raising of ethical and moral standards within the body ecclesiastic. In such a council

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as the Quinisexte, claiming oecumenical status, there was also the necessity of arriving at a universal standard in each case, which should be valid for the entire Christian community.

This community, the Oecumene, properly speaking embraces all individuals worshipping Christ; it is a concept of great flexibility, and powerful in its very variety and looseness of definition. The weakness of the Quinisexte Canons lay in their attempt to impose too rigid a pattern upon an oecumene whose structure had become far too complex to admit of such an imposition.[7] The action of the Quinisexte Council was no less worthy for being ill-advised, however; its aim was to provide, in such matters as ecclesiastical administration, marriage regulations for the clergy, enforcement of monastic vows, and so forth, an adequate standard of behavior which would enhance the moral character of all the clergy. Its success in this effort, within its own sphere, is demonstrated by the fact that virtually all its provisions of more than purely temporary significance remain in effect throughout the Eastern Church to this day.

Similarly, another group of Canons concerned itself with the moral behavior of the laity, with a view toward eradicating both the surviving influences of paganism, and those of the contemporary coreligion, Judaism,[8] as well as correcting the general moral laxity which had been brought about by over a century of political unrest.

The most pertinent Canons for us, however, are those, less than one third of the whole, which relate to matters of worship and ritual, some of which may be connected directly to the Christological thought of the period.[9] The result of the Christological controversies, with their demonstration that the crux of orthodoxy lay in its adherence to the dogma of the Incarnation, had been to place increasing stress upon the importance of the ritual of worship, in which the Mass and its related sacraments were the living enactment of the Incarnation of Christ. We find, therefore, that a large body of the Canons are con-

[7] For the points of specific offense to Rome, cf. above, pp. 11 f.

[8] For an evaluation of the part played by Jewish attitudes in the outbreak of Iconoclasm both in Islam and Byzantium, cf. Ladner in *Mediaeval Studies* II, 1940, pp. 123–34; and Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme*, pp. 99–103, on contemporary Jewish practices in art and decoration.

[9] That the Iconoclastic Controversy is essentually the last of the great Christological controversies is substantially the finding of all the scholars cited in note 2, p. 2, above.

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cerned with regularizing the performance of the church rituals; enhancing their sanctity through the prohibition of practices common at earlier times, which tended to diminish the exclusiveness of the ceremonial as performed by the ordained clergy; regulating the observance of feasts and fasts; and in other ways emphasizing the new importance of church ritual, as a prerogative of the church hierarchy, the instrument of salvation for the Oecumene.

The purpose of all this legislation, plainly enough, was to ensure that the liturgy of the Church would be performed in one way and only one, and only by certain people, so that its meaning, particularly with reference to the Incarnation of Christ, in Both Natures and Both Wills, should never be obscured. Therefore the ceremonial of the Mass must never be confused by extra offerings, nor should its significance be obscured by rich trappings added by communicants, who think to honor the Body of the Lord, but instead dishonor Him with gifts of base dead matter.

Because of this, the Quinisexte Council, although the direct sequel of the Fifth and Sixth Councils, finds itself more closely allied to the theological discussions of the Middle Ages, between and within both the Eastern and the Western Churches, when practice and ritual became more and more the subject, instead of the abstract conceptions of the nature of divinity which had been the concern of the first church councils.

It is among these Canons which have to do with the regulation of worship that we may find the two which particularly concern the present study. The first of these is Canon 73, the text of which is as follows: "Since the lifegiving cross has shown us the way to salvation, we ought to apply every care to give the proper honor to that through which we have been saved from the ancient fall. Wherefore, bestowing upon it reverence in mind, speech and sensation, we order that the signs of the cross made by some people on the ground should utterly disappear, lest the victorious trophy be insulted by trampling underfoot. Therefore we decree that henceforward those who make the sign of the cross on the ground should be excommunicated."[10]

[10] Τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ δείξαντος ἡμῖν τὸ σωτήριον, πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἡμᾶς τιθέναι χρὴ τοῦ τιμὴν τὴν ἀξίαν ἀποδιδόναι τῷ, δι' οὗ σεσώσμεθα τοῦ παλαιοῦ πτώματος. ὅθεν καὶ νῷ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ αἰσθήσει τὴν προσκύνησιν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμοντες, τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπους ὑπό τινων κατασκευαζομένους ἐξαφανίζεσθαι παντοίως προστάττομεν. ὡς ἂν μὴ τῇ τῶν βαδιζόντων καταπατήσει τὸ τῆς νίκης ἡμῖν τρό-

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On the one hand, this interesting regulation, forbidding a practice virtually unknown in the West, may take its place in the historical crystallization of religious symbolism in the Christian world. From a general symbol of the Faith, referring sometimes to the event of the crucifixion, sometimes to the person of Christ Himself, and just as often taken as an almost abstract decorative motif which merely indicated a subject that was Christian in nature, the Holy Cross comes to be understood in one single guise: that of the instrument "through which we have been saved from the ancient fall." As such, it must not be desecrated by the feet of the faithful as they come to worship.

The emphatic reiteration of this Canon at precisely this time, on the other hand, cannot but be in some way the consequence of the decisions of the general councils, as well as of the accelerating advance of icon-worship which the seventh century had seen.[11] In the sense that it was the instrument of salvation itself, its sanctity, like that of the Virgin Mary, is an integral tenet of the orthodox faith, an element apt to be depreciated by either extreme of heresy, Nestorianism or Monophysitism, and their manifold offshoots: whether one believes in the complete unity of the person of Christ, or in His having two wholly distinct persons, the role of the Virgin as the Mother of God, and that of the Cross as the Instrument of Redemption (the two primary aspects of the Incarnation are after all Christ's Birth and Re-Birth) become less important. For in either case the divine nature of Christ (whether embracing all of Him, or but one distinct Nature) is not concerned with these instruments: He passes through the Virgin "like water through a pipe" (Nestorian); only an "image" of Him hangs upon the Cross (Monophysite). So, while participation in either extreme of heresy will lead the individual to depreciate the instruments of the Incarnation, orthodoxy, by contrast, will always tend to exalt them.

It is for this reason that the Quinisexte Council was impelled to particularize finally the nature of the approved representation of the

παιον ἐξυβρίζοιτο. τοὺς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπον ἐπὶ τῷ ἐδάφει κατασκευάζοντας ὁρίζομεν ἀφορίζεσθαι. Mansi, *op. cit.* XI, col. 976. Actually, this follows a similar prohibition in an Edict of Theodosius II, dated 427: *Cod. Justinian* I: viii, and perhaps for this reason has been generally overlooked by commentators on the Quinisexte Council.

[11] On this, cf. particularly Kitzinger, *D. O. Papers* VIII, 1954, pp. 95–115, and Grabar, *Martyrium* II, pp. 343–57.

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Cross, and to specify that it must receive, and be so placed as always to receive, the reverence due it as one of these instruments.

Canon 82 of the Quinisexte Council seems to us almost a corollary of Canon 73, but it is far more important to the history of Christian art:

"On some representations of venerable icons is depicted a lamb pointed at by the Forerunner's finger, which has been accepted as a symbol of Grace, showing us in advance through the Law the true Lamb, Christ our Lord. While embracing the ancient symbols and shadows as signs and anticipatory tracings of the Truth handed down to the Church, we give preference to the Grace and the Truth, having received them as the fulfilment of the Law. Therefore, in order that the perfect should be set down before everybody's eyes on paintings also, we decree that the [figure] of the Lamb, Christ our God, who removes the sins of the world, should henceforward be set up[12] in human form in images also, instead of the ancient lamb, comprehending through Him the height of the humiliation of God's Word, and guided towards the recollection of His Incarnation, His Passion, and His Salutary Death, and the redemption which has thence accrued to the world."[13]

[12] The use of the word ἀναστηλοῦσθαι here has led to a misunderstanding of the Canon on the part of Dom Leclercq (Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.* III[1], p. 573, n. 3), who, translating it as "erected," states that it indicates in consequence that we are dealing here exclusively with images of the cross, i. e., the Crucifixion. The word, however, is never used in the sense of "raising" the Cross, insofar as we can determine, but applies instead to the "erection" of images themselves; it became the specific term referring to the restoration of the images after the end of the Iconoclasm.

The error seems to have arisen from the defective text of the original in Mansi, wherein the accusative article τὸν has no noun (see below). In our translation, we have supplied the noun as "figure" or "image"; Leclercq, however, read the clause to the effect that it was "the Lamb, Christ our God" Who was erected (actually a phrase in the genetive), leading him into his mistake.

This Canon has nothing to do with the specific scene of the crucifixion as such, and had no effect upon the artistic tradition of that scene, except in the general sense that it influenced all subsequent Byzantine representations of Christ. In any case, as Kitzinger has shown, *loc. cit.*, the creative powers and theoretical interests of this period were directed not toward the narrative side of Christian art, but toward the more purely iconic.

[13] Ἐν τισι τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων γραφαῖς ἀμνὸς δακτύλῳ τοῦ προδρόμου δεικνύμενος ἐγχαράττεται, ὃς εἰς τύπον παρελήφθη τῆς χάριτος, τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ νόμου προϋποφαίνων ἀμνὸν Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν. τοὺς οὖν παλαιοὺς τύπους καὶ τὰς

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This pronouncement is of the greatest significance; it is the official sentence passed upon the symbolic representation of Christ, as it had been inherited from primitive Christian art; and sentence passed for the very reason that evolving orthodoxy, with its dogma of the Incarnation, could no longer tolerate purely symbolic representation. The Canon refers specifically to the image of the Lamb, which is here forbidden, but its effect is to forbid the use of any symbolic representation whatsoever of the living incarnate Christ. This sense is reinforced by Canon 73, dealing with the use of the Holy Cross in art and decoration. The Cross had been used as a symbol for Christ Himself from early times, but in speaking of its use, the Council makes it very plain that it is referring in no way to a symbol for the Crucified, but to the Cross itself, that is to say, to an Instrument of the Passion, which is to be represented as such.[14] The principle established by these Canons, then, is that, in Christian art, an object represented should stand for only one thing, that which it directly represents.[15]

In the case of the Lamb-image, this principle is based upon the fact that the use of this symbol to represent Christ derives from the old dispensation of the Law, that of the Old Testament, and hence is no longer applicable in the present dispensation of Grace, inaugurated

σκιὰς, ὡς τῆς ἀληθείας σύμβολά τε καὶ προχαράγματα παραδεδομένους τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατασπαζόμενοι, τὴν χάριν προτιμῶμεν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς πλήρωμα νόμου ταύτην ὑποδεξάμενοι. ὡς ἂν οὖν τὸ τέλειον κἂν ταῖς χρωματουργίαις ἐν ταῖς ἁπάντων ὄψεσιν ὑπογράφηται, τὸν τοῦ αἴροντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου ἀμνοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον χαρακτῆρα καὶ ἐν ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀμνοῦ ἀναστηλοῦσθαι ὁρίζομεν, δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς ταπεινώσεως ὕψος τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου κατανοοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς μνήμην τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ πολιτείας, τοῦ τε πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου θανάτου χειραγωγούμενοι, καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν γενομένης τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπολυτρώσεως. Mansi, *op. cit.* XI, cols. 977–80. This translation and that on p. 81 are the work of Dr. C. A. Mango, to whom I am deeply indebted for this and other assistance.

[14] It is obvious that we cannot accept Grabar's argument, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 220, that Christ replaces and is the equivalent of the Cross on these coins. As we have demonstrated, we believe conclusively, on pp. 22 ff. and 27 above, Christ on these coins replaces the emperor on the obverse, rather than the cross of the reverse; the cross still appears, in its customary form, in the hand of the emperor. Grabar's mistake is the result of his unawareness of the importance of the distinction between obverse and reverse on coins in general, and on Byzantine issues in particular, on which we have already remarked.

[15] This is in line with the general characteristics of the art of the period, as described by Kitzinger in *D. O. Papers* VIII, 1954, *loc. cit.*, and *Studies in Honor of Friend*, pp. 132–50.

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by the Incarnation and set forth in the New Testament.[16] The point involved is not one of sacrilege, as in the case of the use of the Cross in pavements, but rather the simple matter of clarity and precision—the object of all the Canons dealing with matters of worship, as we have pointed out. As the council saw it, in a religious picture, a personality represented was understood to be "present" in the form in which he or she walked the earth, not in the form of a symbol or allusive reference.[17]

The position of religious art in the drama of worship, therefore, is clearly thought out and presented in the acts of the Quinisexte Council, as the product of previous decisions and definitions of the Church Universal. Just as the Council of Chalcedon had its immediate repercussions in art,[18] so our Canon 82 may be understood to be the logical consequence of the anti-Monothelete definition of the Sixth Council. This Council had the problem of undoing the linking of the divine and human wills of Christ, accomplished by the Monothelete definitions, which it did by reference to the identity of His human flesh, which was not destroyed by being deified, and yet did continue to exist as divine and human both. So the human appearance of Christ assumes a new importance in relation to His Godhead as well as His humanity.[19]

His personality is expressed in the action of His two united wills, just as His physical aspect manifests itself in the union of His two persons. The definition of Chalcedon, followed by the definition of the Sixth Council, imposed the necessity of representing Christ as one person, divine and human simultaneously, manifesting the unity of His two wills, in the form which made His Incarnation visible to men, i.e., in human form as He had walked the earth. Only by representing Christ directly in this way could the orthodox dogma be illustrated; the ancient symbols could no longer serve to inculcate the presence of the God-man Who had been on earth, and is in heaven.

We cannot exaggerate the importance of this Eighty-Second Canon to its own time; it states the problem of Christian religious representa-

[16] For the importance of the distinction made between the Old and the New Dispensations, cf. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 79f.
[17] Cf. Ladner, in *D. O. Papers* VII, 1953, pp. 1–34, as well as Kitzinger, *D. O. Papers* VIII, *loc. cit.*
[18] Cf. above, p. 62, and Morey, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–2.
[19] Mansi, *op. cit.* XI, cols. 633–40, esp. col. 637.

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tion in terms of Christology, and it was on the grounds of Christology that the Iconoclastic Controversy was fought in the course of the next century and a half.[20] This Canon was remembered well, and it became an important weapon for the orthodox cause in the eighth century. Not only was it cited in the works of the orthodox polemicists like the Patriarch Nicephorus[21] and others,[22] but it was actually used in the proceedings of the Seventh Oecumenical Council, in 787.[23] It was, in fact, the chief legal precedent available for use by the orthodox party in demanding a general council on the subject of Iconoclasm, and as such it was the principal text, aside from biblical and patristic references, used by the Patriarch Tarasius in his inaugural *synodica* to the Eastern Patriarchs, calling for that Council.[24]

These are the facts which led Grabar to see a connection between the action of the Quinisexte Council, and the initiative taken by the imperial administration in issuing coins bearing the portrait of Christ; this relation seems to us also the most obvious, and the most direct one of the possibilities open. Whether or not these coins were produced as the direct outcome of the Council's sessions, or were merely struck at about the same time as a result of the same thinking, the same intellectual climate, must remain a moot question, with the weight of the probabilities perhaps on the side of the latter conclusion.

Of the two types showing the image of Christ accompanied by that of the sole emperor (as he was during his first reign), it is our Type II, on which the emperor termed himself "Servus Christi," which Grabar formerly felt showed most characteristics indicating its special con-

[20] Cf. above, note 9, p. 80.
[21] *Antirrheticus* III, in Migne, *P. G.* 100, col. 421; also *Apologeticus Minor pro sacris imaginibus*, *P. G.* 100, col. 836.
[22] *I. a.* Pseudo-John Damascene, *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, Migne, *P. G.* 95, col. 320.
[23] Mansi, *op. cit.* XIII, cols. 40–1.
[24] The synodical letter was read aloud during Actio III of the Seventh Council: Mansi, *op. cit.* XII, cols. 1119–27, esp. cols. 1123–6. In both of these citations at the Seventh Council, this Canon is described as an action of the Sixth Council, which as we have indicated above, p. 79, was the way in which it was regarded when it was held. The fact that the Quinisexte's Canons were not ratified in the West is perhaps what has led Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.* III[2], pp. 745 & 767 to "correct" Tarasius and the Eastern bishops, who might have been expected to know what they were saying.

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nection with Canon 82;[25] we are inclined to the same conclusion. But if that is so, what are we to make of the other type, Type III, which also shows the emperor alone, but in bust form, and with a different Christ portrait?

In seeking an answer to this problem, the evidence of the mints from which the coins were issued is of some value. In summarizing this evidence, insofar as it is available to us, we have found that Type II occurs only in issues of Constantinople and of the Exarchate of Carthage (Sardinia), while Type III is to be found not only at these mints, but at two Italian mints, at Rome and in the South.[26] Equally significant, from this point of view, is the fact that in published records of coin hoards, coins of Type II and of Type III have never been found together.[27]

Arguments *ex silentio* are by their nature perilous; yet a check of as many collections and cabinets as possible has confirmed the absence of any coins of Type II which might have been struck at Italian mints. This fits so conveniently with our hypothesis about the character and meaning of Type II, that it is difficult not to regard this situation as significant. We know that the Acts of the Quinisexte Council were never signed by the Pope—that, in fact, the first Pope to receive them, Sergius, refused to permit their publication within his domain.[28] Justinian II attempted to force Sergius to bow to his will, but the Pope was too strong on his home ground to be bested by the emperor's first attempt at coercion, and Justinian's first reign ended before another attempt could be made. In this quarrel, the Exarch of Italy is conspicuous by his absence; he seems to have kept himself aloof from

[25] Cf. above, p. 78 and n. 1. More recently, of course, Grabar has changed his mind: *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 41f, for iconographical reasons sees the Christ of our Type III as related to the reference to the "Lamb" of the Quinisexte Canon, and hence most directly issued in consequence of the Council's action. While our findings about the relations and meaning of the Christ-type (cf. below) are close to those of Grabar, this analogy with the "Lamb of God" concept seems to us unnecessarily rigid. More conclusively, we believe that the chronology of the types precludes the possibility that coins of Type III were issued at the time, or in consequence of the Quinisexte Council and its rulings.

[26] Cf. above, pp. 25f.

[27] Mosser, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 62, 92. Not, of course, that the occurrence of a few instances of such coupling would destroy our thesis; but we feel that the present evidence is significant.

[28] Cf. above, p. 12.

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the dispute, for motives which we can only surmise. What more natural, therefore, than for him to have hesitated to strike coins identified with the actions of the Council, at mints where the papal authority was in effect stronger than his own?

Coins of our Type III, on the other hand, seem to have been acceptable in the West; and their reverse, in fact, seems to show a different aspect of the imperial authority. The globus in the emperor's hand proclaims "Peace;" if this was an offer of reconciliation with Italy, it must have been accepted. Could all this have taken place during the same short period of three years from 692, the date of the Council, to 695, the date of Justinian II's fall?

The reason that all coins bearing the figure of Justinian II alone have usually been assigned to his first reign is the simple one that we know that during his second reign he had as co-emperor his infant son, Tiberius. But the fact seems to have escaped the compilers of our catalogues that Justinian II at the outset of his second reign did rule alone for several months, perhaps for the better part of a year, before he was able to bring his wife and son to Constantinople and have them crowned; and during part of that period, he was not even aware of his son's existence.[29] In this time, Justinian could scarcely have presumed to strike coins representing his uncrowned son as already elevated to the rank of Augustus; yet it is equally inconceivable, given the importance of the coin-image as a representation of the imperial authority, that he would have failed to strike some sort of coins of his own, to replace in circulation those of his hated—and vanquished—rivals.

Our Type III fits the requirements of such a type to perfection, in view of what we know of the circumstances of Justinian II's return to power. Whereas an attempt to explain its appearance at any earlier date raised innumerable complications, in 705 all its distinctive characteristics coincide with the period when the emperor was showing himself willing to make concessions to the papal feelings as a price for reconciliation with Rome and the West: among these characteristics we should single out the retreat from the "imperial" Christ-image associated, apparently, with the controversial Quinisexte Council; the proclamation of "Peace" restored to earth by Justinian,

[29] Cf. above, pp. 14 ff.

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the rightful emperor;[30] and yet at the same time, significantly enough, sufficient attributes are retained, such as the "Rex Regnantium" legend and the emperor's loros-costume, to continue to assert the God-given nature of the emperor's power almost as much as the preceding type had done.

Nor would the Papacy have been so apt to block the minting of such coins. Its point had been made in the suppression of Type II; the political symbolism of Type III, in contradistinction to that of its predecessor, contains nothing which would have made its striking objectionable at the mints under the jurisdiction of the Exarch of Italy. Coins of this type, with Justinian II alone, would have continued to appear, as other periods of multiple-rulership demonstrate, even after the coronation of little Tiberius had led to the introduction of Type IV and Type IV–B.

There are other grounds on which our objection to the dating of Type III to the first reign have already been substantiated. Examination of our descriptions of the two issues will show differences in the orthography of the legends on the two which are highly unlikely on coins minted direct sequence: while Type II calls Christ "IHSCRISTOS," Type III terms Him "DNIHSCHS;" Type II begins the emperor's title "DIUSTIN...," while Type III begins "DNIVSTIN..."[31] Further differences in the epigraphy of these inscriptions, in each case relating Type III closer to Type IV than to its predecessor, as well as the evidence of style, led Laffranchi to anticipate our conclusions in his important article:[32] He found that whereas Type II followed epigraphically and stylistically upon Justinian II's Type I in

[30] The use of the legend "PAX" is curiously restricted on Byzantine coins—curiously so considering its wide currency during the Roman Empire. It appears, other than on these issues, on the earlier bronze issues of Justinian II (n. 6, p. 21, above) and on a bronze issue which, to judge by the length of the imperial beard, dates fairly early in the reign of Constans II (641–668) (Sabatier, *op. cit.* I, p. 296, No. 10). The only generalization which it seems to us possible to make about the use of the word is that it seems to occur, in the Heraclian Dynasty, more or less at the outset of reigns which begin with dynastic troubles (Constans II and his brothers—Constantine IV co-ruled with his for a dozen years instead—and possibly Justinian II and his putative brother Heraclius, not to mention Justinian II's later troubles), and hence implies a reassurance of the "Pax-Romana-Christiana" restored with legitimacy. Cf. below, pp. 91 ff.

[31] Cf. above, pp. 22 f.

[32] *Op. cit.*, note 9.

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a natural way, Type III showed considerable dissimilarities stylistically and epigraphically (the phrasing of the inscription referring to Christ differs on the two types, for example, as does the epigraphy of the letter "G"). In general, on the other hand, the style of Type III is quite similar to that of the coins of Tiberius III (PLATE II, 15; the heads, hair, etc., of the emperor-portraits on the two types are all but identical, and quite dissimilar from the strongly individualized and far more plastic portraits of the coins of Leontius or of Justinian II's first reign). Laffranchi established a stylistic sequence, therefore, in which Justinian II's coins of Type III took a place only following the development carried through by the coins of Leontius and of Tiberius Apsimar, and hence belonging to the second reign.

Final confirmation is available with the discovery of two bronzes, bearing the image of the emperor in bust-length and wearing the loros, as on the gold of Type III, and with legible dates in the year XXI, which in Justinian II's reigns must be 705–6 (PLATE II, 14).[33]

With such gratifying substantiating evidence, we may now postulate a chronology for the types of Justinian II's coinage, always allowing for overlapping and continuation of issues within the reigns beyond the rough boundary dates we have indicated:

Type I	685–692 A. D.[34]
Type II	692–695 A. D.
Type III	705–706 A. D.
Type IV	706–711 A. D.

[33] These two folles are now in Dumbarton Oaks; the clearest is acc. no. 52.13.386. These are of the type of Ricotti Prina, *op. cit.*, No. 172, on which the date is not legible. On the interpretation of the dates on coins of Justinian II, cf. above, n. 9, p. 22.

[34] Our sub-group Type I–A would presumably fall at the beginning of this period, but it is a little difficult to state positively when it ceases and Type I takes over. Type IV–B, on the other hand, can be assumed to have been issued concurrently with Type IV.

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THE MEANING OF JUSTINIAN II'S NEW COIN TYPES

In our study of the coins of Justinian II, which gradually has narrowed consideration to Types II and III as representing the significant innovations of this emperor in numismatic iconography, we have been led step by step to the statement of most of the conclusions which it is possible to draw from them. In the course of this study, we have been able to indicate in detail many of the determinations which may be made with assurance as to the precise meaning of the coins—insofar as, at the time of issue even, one would have been correct in attributing to each a single meaning, whether precise or otherwise. It remains for us, however, to gather this somewhat scattered evidence together in view of our larger problems.

In doing so, we should keep in mind the significant point emphasized by Grabar, that on both of these coin issues it is necessary, more than with almost any others in the field of numismatics, to consider both obverse and reverse types together, as complementary images forming one iconographic whole.[1]

The reverse of Type II (PLATE I, 5), representing the standing emperor holding the stepped cross, takes its point of departure, as we have indicated, from the symbolism of the imperial victory; the consular costume serves to carry out this symbolism still more clearly. Yet the legend, as Grabar remarked,[2] does not really complement this iconography; instead, it employs an expression of humility to show the emperor as the subject of Christ.[3] We have before us, then, a subtle transition from the previous iconography, in which Christian symbols were the instruments of the imperial power in achieving an essentially secular triumph, to a new conception, in which the emperor himself is but the instrument of the Divine Will in achieving Its own victories.

[1] Well stated in *L'iconoclasme*, p. 37.
[2] *L'empereur*, pp. 19–20.
[3] Emphasized by Grabar, and by P. L. Koch, "Christusbild–Kaiserbild," *Benediktinische Monatsschrift* XXI, 1939, pp. 91 ff., esp. pp. 92–3. It is curious that Koch mistakenly describes the Christ-image on Justinian II's coins as "enthroned" (p. 91), the type introduced after the Restoration of the Images.

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Our research on the background of the "servus Christi" legend has shown that its determining formative element was that of the apostolic tradition. That this is the connotation of our type as a whole may be suggested by the chapter of the Book of Ceremonies referred to earlier, which explains why the emperor and the twelve high dignitaries wore the loros on Easter Sunday: The magistrates do so as types of the Apostles, says the text, while the emperor in his golden costume represents, insofar as it is possible for a mere human being to do so, Jesus Christ Himself![4]

This Christomimesis was thus a conscious element of the mid-Byzantine imperial ceremonial; are we justified in projecting its origins back to the seventh century? Quite possibly not, as far as an overt intention is concerned; yet the study of our coin types makes it all but indisputable that these were ideas present at that time: the emperor, standing before his Master, appears to men both as the image of the Divine Pambasileus on earth,[5] and as the apostle of the true Faith, of orthodoxy itself, bearing the true word of dogma to all men.

If this coin type represents the emperor, therefore, as a living apostle, how would the function of his apostleship have been conceived by these men of the seventh century?

Three hundred years later, when the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III employed the same titulature, it was on the occasion of a campaign in Poland, against a heathen people.[6] Otto found it expedient to propagandize his war as a crusade of evangelism against the pagans, so that he used the title "servus Christi" to suggest his campaign's missionary, hence apostolic, nature. Justinian II also engaged in a war against the barbarians, in the Balkans in 688, and it has been

[4] *De Cer.* II, 40, ed. de Reiske, p. 638.

[5] For the Christian use of the Neo-Pythagorean concept of the emperor as image of God (distinct from the analogy between the use of the imperial portrait and that of the images of Christ), which was developed particularly by Eusebius for application to Constantine I, cf. Ladner, "The Image Concept," *D. O. Papers* VII, 1953, pp. 20ff., referring especially to N. H. Baynes, "Eusebius and the Christian Empire," *Mélanges Bidez* (*Annales de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* II, 1934), pp. 13ff. A cogent study of the later interpretation of the relationship between the emperor and Christ is given by Déer, *Schweizer Beiträge* XIII, 1955, pp. 98–108.

[6] Cf. above, p. 65.

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suggested[7] that this "apostolic" coin type might well refer to this campaign. The muted triumphal symbolism of the type might be understood to favor this interpretation; yet it must be considered doubtful either that the campaign of 688 assumed sufficient importance to justify such a radical innovation in numismatic iconography, or that the mission of the campaign was conceived, even for purposes of propaganda, as being of an evangelical nature. There are no signs that the Byzantines of this period ever sought to justify their periodic raids against the Slavs and the Bulgars on the grounds that they were bringing light to the heathen; on the contrary, these were purely defensive excursions, and until the ninth century little or no effort seems to have been expended in the direction of effecting the conversion of these enemies to Christianity.[8]

Much more directly connected with the apostolic function in the attitude of the day, on the other hand, was the idea of establishing orthodoxy within the Christian community itself. Constantine, first of the imperial apostles,[9] appears to have had this very much in mind when he assembled the first oecumenical council to define the orthodox faith, for in his preamble to the Council of Nicaea, reported in several sources, the emperor addressed the assembled bishops as the servants of God, nominating himself as their fellow-slave, and called upon them all to be apostles of peace within the Christian community by their actions at that council.[10] Preserved, therefore, in the acts of the prototype of all church councils was this statement, incorporating the integral elements of our coin image. That this attitude toward the councils was not forgotten may be demonstrated by the letter of Eutychius to Pope Vigilius, included in the Acts of the Fifth Council

[7] Verbally, by Prof. Grabar; he did not develop the suggestion in *L'iconoclasme*, despite the fact that, since he links Type III with the Quinisexte Council and believes Type II to precede it, a connection between the latter and the Balkan campaign would be chronologically convenient.

[8] Cf. F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle*, Paris, 1926.

[9] Cf. in addition to the citations already made, notes 11 and 12, p. 64 above, H. P. L'Orange, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–7, and p. 150, n. 2–16.

[10] The version in the *Vita Constantini* II, 12 (ed. Heikel, pp. 82–3) is generally considered the most accurate. As regards the disputed problem of the reliability of the *Vita Constantini* as a whole, it must be remembered that, whatever the reservations of modern scholarship concerning the precise date of its authorship, the text was in existence well before the time with which we are dealing, and was then considered genuine.

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of 553, which describes the councils as continuing the work of the propagation of the Faith begun by Christ and His Apostles.[11]

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the church councils were considered in themselves, and in their published acts, as fundamental *symbols* of the orthodox faith; this is borne out by the history of the diptychs and of the images of these councils, at the very period we are studying. When the ephemeral emperor Philippicus Bardanes came to the throne following Justinian II, he sought to restore the condemned Monothelete heresy;[12] one of his most significant acts while striving to achieve this aim was the destruction of the images of the Six Oecumenical Councils, which had hitherto stood in the vestibule of the Great Palace between the Fourth and the Sixth Schola. Philippicus proceeded to erect at the Milion, the civic heart of Constantinople, a new image which included only the first five of the councils, those which had not anathematized his theology. When he sent to Rome to command Pope Constantine (who had barely returned from his visit to Justinian II at Constantinople) to perform the same purge on the similar images of the councils which existed there, the Pope refused to act, and an enraged populace substituted the image of the Sixth Council for the customary "sacred" portrait which had been set up to represent the heretical emperor.[13]

What, then, of the Christ before Whom the apostolic emperor stands in reverence? We have seen that the history of this Rex Regnantium image was prolonged into the post-Iconoclastic period, and that there is an excellent possibility that its history prior to the time of the issue of these coins can be determined. This is Christ the King of Those Who Rule, Christ in His aspect of Pambasileus, with His power related directly to that of the emperor, ruling through the emperor over the races of men. The Rex Regnantium concept has never been more accurately defined than it was by a Pope, Leo II,

[11] Mansi, *op. cit.* IX, cols. 185–8.

[12] Cf. above, p. 17.

[13] The best study of these images is H. Stern, "Les représentations des conciles dans l'Eglise de la Nativité à Bethléem," *Byzantion* XI, 1936, pp. 101–52, and XIII, 1938, pp. 415–59; the conflicting evidence from the sources for this particular episode are unravelled with great skill in Vol. XI, pp. 144–5, and p. 144, n. 3. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 48–61, reviews the evidence and demonstrates that these images stood conceptually quite specifically for the person of Christ as Second Person of the Trinity.

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writing to Constantine IV in May of 682 to acknowledge receipt of the Acts of the Sixth Council, and to indicate his endorsement of their contents.[14] Pope Leo was, of course, reminding the emperor of his responsibilities to his Heavenly superior; but what could be more fitting to our interpretation of the image than the first words of his letter: "Small and great we thank the king of those who rule, in whose power are the kingdoms of this world, and who has thus invested you with the earthly empire..." ?[15] "You rule by virtue of the mandate which has been sent to you by God."[16]

Herein lies the distinction between the Pantocrator, the Sovereign of all men, and the Rex Regnantium. This is not God the Father, visible through the form of His Son, on these coins, as the Iconophiles described the concept of the Pantocrator when they evolved their aesthetic of representation in the eighth century;[17] this is the Son Jesus Christ Himself, Whose servant Justinian II proclaims himself to be.

The words of Leo II seem, indeed, to combine in a most happy way the concepts with which we have been dealing. Using almost the very words of Justin II,[18] on the occasion of the conclusion of an oecumenical council, within the very lifetime of Justinian II the Pope gives expression to the meaning of the Rex Regnantium image in the most cogent way possible. It is not surprising to find that Justinian II adopted this sponsorship of the emperor's Christ, the Second Person of the Trinity, Who makes His power felt on earth through the basileus, His representative and regent.[19]

Justinian II's council concerned itself with defining the nature of the worship to be offered through images to Christ the Son. It is this Son of God Whom Justinian served, therefore, in regulating the faith of the orthodox, and in publishing the Canons of his Church Council;

[14] Mansi, *op. cit.* XI, cols. 725–36.

[15] *Ibid.* XI, col. 725: τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν βασιλευόντων οὗτινος ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ εἰσὶν αἱ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεῖαι, αὐτῷ μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι εὐχαριστοῦμεν, τῷ οὕτως εἰς ὑμᾶς μεταγαγόντι τὴν ἐπίγειον βασιλείαν...

[16] *Loc. cit.*: ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θεόθεν ὑμῖν προσπορισθείσης τιμῆς βασιλεύετε.

[17] Cf. *inter alia* John of Damascus, *De Imaginibus Oratio* III, 18, Migne, *P. G.* 94, cols. 1337–40. For discussion on the identification of the Pantocrator, cf. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 40–1.

[18] Cf. above, p. 55.

[19] Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 21 ff., discusses previous evidence of the purposeful association of imperial with religious images.

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and this act of service, or apostleship, is the one commemorated on Justinian II's coins of Type II.

Type III, (PLATE I, 7) on the other hand, seems not so clearly defined, and in a certain sense may always defy any absolutely precise interpretation. The emperor no longer addresses Christ, but speaks to men,[20] and all aspects of the reverse type serve to confirm our suggestion that these coins were issued after Justinian II's recapture of the throne in 705 A. D. He appears to his subjects, clad as before, but holding, in place of the mappa-anexikakia, a globus cruciger which proclaims that Peace has been restored to the world by the vindication of the legitimate dynasty. So his subjects receive him with the fitting salutation, "Lord for many Years," an invocation of a long and fortunate reign for the restored basileus. The sense of dynastic continuity is stressed, shortly, by the inclusion of Justinian II's infant son Tiberius, who was raised to the rank of Augustus at an uncommonly early age. In the idea of legitimacy, the reestablishment of the rightful dynastic succession, if we are correct in our dating and in our interpretation of this type, lies the key to an understanding of these coins.

The changed Christ indicates the passage of time since the minting of Type II. The information which we possess on this portrait-type, complete though it may be in one sense, does not tell us why it should have been used on this coin; it certainly does not represent any stricter adherence to the Eighty-Second Canon of the Quinisexte Council than the previous Rex Regnantium portrait, since the Canon simply calls for the representation of Christ "in human form,"[21] and not according to any given portrait-tradition.

This is a different Christ, however, from our Pambasileus, the Christ of the emperors, for despite the persistence of the legend Rex Regnantium, He does not stand for the divinely-sanctioned aspect of the Byzantine imperium in the same sense as does the Christ of our Type II. Justinian II here rules in his own right, directly over his people; the obverse legend recalls the principle of the super-magistracy

[20] As remarked by Grabar, *L'empereur*, p. 19, n. 4. Of course Grabar has since changed his mind to some extent on this, and, having linked our Type III coin with the Quinisexte Council, has a less firm position for our coins of Type II.

[21] Cf. above, p. 83.

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of Christ, but the coin as a whole does not assert this so much as the power of the emperor himself; in a sense, therefore, it may be still more imperialistic a conception, in the strictest sense of the word, than was Type II.

No more than it prescribes a single specific portrait-type of Christ, does Canon 82 limit to a single fashion the manner in which Christ may be depicted. We are already familiar with occasional instances of the appearance of more than one portrait-type of Christ within the same iconographic formula, as if in order to illustrate the multiple theological concepts involved in the personality of the Son of Man.[22] We have no evidence, however, that such an idea was operative in the creation of these new coin-types; still it is not beyond the realm of possibility that some such conception was present within their creators' minds.

While this concept may only be suggested, we have already indicated that the Syrian parentage of the Christ-portrait of Type III may have played a part in its selection for this issue, at a time when Justinian II had in mind a reconciliation with the papacy (even though it must be remembered that his method was not one of mere appeasement—*vide* his sending the blinded ex-Patriarch Callinicus as one of his ambassadors to Rome). Beyond this we know too little of the history and associations of this portrait-type to arrive at a positive conclusion about its significance on this coin.

One possibility suggests itself, however, in view of the nature of the reverse type, and the general content of the coin as a whole: The idea of the image "from the life" is closely linked with a series of other portraits or images of Christ, such as the Sacred Image of Edessa and that of Camuliana, which had become famous in the preceding century,[23] and which were part of a whole family of portraits which either were supposed to be physical imprints of

[22] An outstanding instance is the appearance of two contrasting figure-types of Christ in the narrative mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, discussed by O. von Simson, in *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, Chicago, 1948, pp. 73–4 & *passim*. Grabar, pp. 18f. and 42ff., adduces several examples of this doubling of Christ-images, some of which, however, are rather more inferential than otherwise.

[23] Cf. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, the best and most thorough study of the evidence on this subject; but Kitzinger, in *D. O. Papers* VIII, 1954, pp. 100–15, uses it in a way much more directly germane to our problem.

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Christ's living body made during His lifetime, or miraculously brought into existence at a later date. It has already been suggested that these images, which came from the general region of Syria and Palestine, were related to the numerous descriptions of the appearance of Christ "more familiar in the time of the Saviour,"[24] and which seem to originate in about the same period as that of the rise of the "acheiropoietai," as the miraculous images themselves were called.[25]

These images were regarded in the seventh century, furthermore, as having palladian or apotropaeic powers. The Image of Edessa was credited with saving that city in the great Persian siege of 544;[26] while the Camuliana portrait was used in 586 to instil courage in the imperial troops before battle.[27] But most significant of all, Heraclius, founder of the dynasty to which Justinian II belonged, seems to have been a particularly fervent believer in the efficacy of such miraculous auxiliaries:[28] He displayed the icon of the Virgin during his naval expedition to overthrow Phocas; he used the miraculous image of Christ—it has been suggested[29] that this may have been the very image of Camuliana which had been brought from Syria to Constantinople in 574, during the reign of Justin II[30]—as a palladium in his Persian campaign; and he had the same image carried around the walls of Constantinople during the Avar siege of 626. As late as the Moslem siege of 717, in the reign of the future Iconoclast Leo III, the image of the Virgin, as well as the relics of the True Cross, were carried around the walls of Constantinople in an effort to obtain spiritual aid against the enemy.[31]

We have already suggested that Justinian II's Christ-type B might represent one of these miraculous images; yet we face the

[24] Cf. our discussion above, pp. 59ff.
[25] Cf. Koch, *Ben. Mon.* XX, 1938, pp. 34–6, and Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 19–21 and 30ff.
[26] Cf. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, pp. 68**–85**.
[27] Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae* II, 3, 4ff., ed. de Boor, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 73–4. Cf. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–2 and 127*–128*.
[28] Cf. the evidence cited by Kitzinger in *D. O. Papers* VIII, 1954, pp. 111f., supplementing Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–4 and 128*–134*.
[29] Kitzinger, *loc. cit.*, following the presumption made by Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[30] Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, ed. Bekker I, p. 685.
[31] Migne, *P. G.* 92, col. 1365.

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fact that none of the surviving copies of these images show the curly-haired "Syrian" Christ portrait; on the contrary, they are of a long-bearded wavy-haired type derived, like the normal mid-Byzantine type which they closely resemble, ultimately from our Christ-type A and its Greco-Roman antecedents.[32] Our coin-type does correspond, however, with the written description of one of these pre-Iconoclastic acheiropoietai, the one in S. Sophia in Jerusalem which was described by Anthony of Placentia in the sixth century.[33] We should like to offer the hypothesis that this coin image does, in fact, copy one of the pre-Iconoclast miraculous images which played so large a part in the early development of the cult of the icons.

The most famous of these pre-Iconoclastic acheiropoietai was the Image of Camuliana, of which no replica has been preserved. It would appear to have been lost or destroyed during the iconoclastic period; its place in the popular imagination as a "living" facsimile of Christ's appearance was taken by the Edessan image, which was brought to Constantinople in its turn in 944.[34] This image, insofar as we are able to infer its probable appearance,[35] seems to have conformed to the normal mid-Byzantine Christ-portrait, as exemplified by the enthroned Christ of Hagia Sophia, the coin-types of the tenth century, and the many familiar icons of this and later times. All this is in contrast with the pre-Iconoclastic era, when there

[32] Cf. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, pp. 166–7 and p. 166, n. 1; cf. also the earliest certain example, ill. by Grabar, *Martyrium*, Pl. LX, 2, a fresco at Spas Nereditsy near Novgorod, dating from 1198–99 A. D. Possibly earlier may be the MSS. illus. by Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme*, fig. 67–8, and discussed on pp. 19–21, both of the Mandylion type.

[33] Cf. above, pp. 60 f.

[34] Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–9.

[35] Cf. above, note 32. Now A. Blanchet, "L'influence artistique de Constantin Porphyrogenète," Παγκάρπεια (*Mélanges Grégoire: Annales de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* IX, 1949), pp. 97–104, advances the theory that the impressive Christ image on the gold coins issued by Constantine VII alone in 945 (*BMC* II, Pl. LIII, 7; subsequently on coins of Constantine VII and Romanus II, Pl. LIII, 12–4, & by other emperors) represents the Edessan Christ-image, brought to Constantinople a year before and placed in the Blachernae church. He sees the anomalous issue of Leo VI with the Virgin (*ibid.* II, Pl. LI, 8) as a posthumous one struck at the same time—with the Blacherniotissa image as its source for the Virgin type. The theory is a striking one, which merits consideration, especially since it offers the first reasonable explanation of the issue of Leo the Wise, so out of character with his other coins.

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apparently was no feeling of difficulty in reconciling multiple types of Christ-image, youthful and mature, beardless and bearded, and so forth.

Despite the apparent standardization which took place in visual imagery after Iconoclasm, we have seen that at least a literary tradition persisted concerning the "familiar" appearance of Christ, corresponding in no way with the customary pictorial image, and apparently connected with the region where the miraculous images themselves originated. It is our hypothesis, then, that Justinian II's Christ-type B, which corresponds to this description, is linked to these miraculous images—most probably to the Camuliana portrait, since that was present in the capital at this time—and was used, as much as anything else, because of its strongly palladian connotations, as a "figure" of Christ invoked in aid of the rightful dynasty.

The association of such miraculous images with the name of Heraclius, as we have seen, also suggests that this may be another aspect of the strongly "dynastic" feeling of Justinian II's coins of Types III and IV; and there is one other detail of these coins which might also indicate this. We refer to the "patriarchal" cross with double crossbar, the history of which, together with its original meaning, seems never to have been thoroughly studied.[36] What we

[36] Mr. P. Verdier has brought to my attention a group of studies of the "Cross of Lorraine" or Anjou, stimulated in France by the events of World War II. These include: L. Courant, *La vraie Croix de Baugé...*, Baugé, 1945; A. Couson, *L'histoire de la croix de Lorraine*, Lille, 1945; F. de Grandmaison, *L'héroique épopée de la croix de Lorraine et d'Anjou*, Saumur, 1945; C. du Mesnil, "Emblèmes et drapeaux. La croix de Lorraine," *Revue de l'histoire de l'Armée* I, 1945, pp. 9–22; *idem.*, "La croix Lorraine," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1945–47, pp. 42f. Of these, only Couson has been available to me in other than summary form; but the tenor seems to follow one line: The cross of Lorraine, originally the double-barred cross on the arms of Anjou, derives from a cross reliquary made for the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus (1143–1180), which was brought back from the Crusades by Jean d'Alluye, and is now in the chapel of the Hospice at Baugé. Thus we would appear to have another example to add to those cited below, of cross-reliquaries of the double-barred form, linked directly with Constantinople. A. Frolow has now undertaken a general study of the early cross-reliquaries which, when completed, should clarify many of the problems in this area.

It may be noted that Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, p. 40, connects the double-barred cross on the coins of Justinian II with the one customarily held by Christ in mid-Byzantine and later scenes of the Anastasis, the Harrowing of Hell. While there is undoubtedly a connection, we should prefer to think of a link through the common source, i. e., that in both instances it is meant to emphasize the fact that it is the True Cross, the actual instrument of the Crucifixion, which is being used.

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do know about it is that all the earliest surviving reliquaries for fragments of the True Cross take this shape: The Poitiers Reliquary, which legend says was sent to St. Radegund by Justin II about 569;[37] the Fieschi-Morgan Reliquary, which Rosenberg dated in the pre-Iconoclastic period;[38] and the Staurothek of Limburg, which surely dates from the tenth century.[39] (Although there remain unresolved disagreements among students of the problem as to the pre-Iconoclastic dating of the first two reliquaries, no one has questioned the fact that these three are all Eastern cross-reliquaries preserved from before the year 1000 A. D., and that the two-barred form seems to be the one normally taken by such early Eastern reliquaries.)

It is significant, in this connection, that this form may be the one described by the pilgrim Arculf when speaking of the reliquary of the True Cross which he saw during his visit to Constantinople about the year 670.[40] Arculf writes of the extreme veneration shown by all, and particularly by the imperial family, for the relics which were preserved in an unnamed round church, and then gives an involved description of the way in which these relics were enshrined. Unfortunately, the details of his description are too confused for the modern mind to be able to reconstruct the precise shape of the reliquary; but what Arculf makes clear is that the relics of the Cross were in three pieces, which were somehow shown in combination. A cross with double bars would seem one of the few possible ways in which such a combination of three pieces of a cross could be mounted together.

Once more we are reminded of the actions of Heraclius, for it was that emperor who brought back these very relics of the True Cross

[37] Published by Martin Conway, "St. Radegund's Reliquary at Poitiers," *Antiquaries Journal* III, 1923, pp. 1–13, & Pl. I, accepting fully the traditional history. This reliquary is currently being studied by Mr. M. C. Ross, who may be able to shed further light upon the question of its date.

[38] Marc Rosenberg, *Niello bis zum Jahre 1000 nach Christus*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1924, pp. 61–7; cf. esp. fig. 52, p. 62.

[39] Marc Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst auf technischer Grundlage* III[1], Frankfurt-am-Main, 1921, pp. 67 & 72; Pl. I (4) & III (1). Interesting also in this connection is the cross within a halo in the MS. of the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus, Paris gr. 923, illus. by Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, fig. 163, and discussed by Schapiro, *loc. cit.*, which may be double-barred or simply endowed with an unusually pronounced *titulus*.

[40] Arculfus, *De Locis Sanctis* III, 3, in T. Tobler, *Itinera et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* I, Geneva, 1877, pp. 193–5. I am indebted to Prof. Kitzinger for this and other important references bearing upon this problem.

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to Constantinople after his first Persian campaign.[41] If we are justified in thinking that there is some connection between Heraclius' transfer of the cross relics to his capital, and Justinian II's use of a type of cross which seems to have been particularly associated with the True Cross to surmount the globus of world dominion on his coins, this would relate to two interconnected ideas: that this emblem of the True Cross was another symbol evoking dynastic associations with the glories of the founder, Heraclius, upon which Justinian II wished to fall back with his own return to power; and that the Holy Cross, too, had strong palladian powers to protect the Empire and its ruler—this latter fact being confirmed by the use of the relics a few years later, during the siege of 717.

The "life" image of Christ, then, would appear as a suitable complement to that of the emperor on the third issue of coins by Justinian II, at the outset of his second reign. While the emperor is acclaimed by his subjects, and presents himself to them as the legitimate heir of the Heraclian dynasty, the bestower of peace upon a world troubled by rebellion, usurpation and heresy within, paganism and barbarity without the Empire, the image of the miracle-working Christ is invoked to protect Justinian, his family and his realm from these threats, and to assure the Peace which is as much requested as proclaimed by the legend.

This interpretation makes comprehensible the acceptance of this issue in papal territories, despite its potent assertion of the imperial right to world dominion. Type II represents the emperor's sacerdotal office together with his secular one, and hence seemed to the Italians to challenge the freedom of the Holy See to interpret orthodoxy according to its own lights. On Type III, on the other hand, the emperor, however divinely endowed with power, is shown as purely a lay sovereign, who appeals to Christ rather than represents Him, invoking the aid of the Son of God to protect his Empire from danger, and to continue his imperial house in power.[42]

[41] Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 22.

[42] Although Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 41 ff., is led to different conclusions about the meaning and purpose of our two types of coins, his analysis of the Christ-types is not far from the one arrived at here. He sees our Christ-type B, with curly beard, as the "historical" Christ, the Prince of Peace, the Incarnate Son, Christ of the Redemption; while our Christ-type A, with long flowing beard, is the King of Glory, Christ of the Second Coming. Thus there

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A review of the "after-life" of these types, in the light of Grabar's recent discussion,[43] serves to emphasize the importance they had for later periods of Byzantine art and numismatics. The immediate successors of Justinian II, of course, rejected these types with their strong dynastic associations; shortly afterward, Iconoclasm removed the possibility of such iconic representations on official issues. Nor is it perhaps as strange as Grabar seems to feel[44] that, during the brief periods under Artavasdus and Irene when iconophile sentiments once more were resurgent,[45] the major step of replacing Christ on the official coinage did not take place. Only some time after Michael III and Theodora had finally overthrown the Iconoclastic policies was this done.

In the meantime, however, the formulation of iconophile doctrine, in the face of Iconoclast attacks, had brought to the fore the whole problem of the sovereignty of Christ; one of the major points inveighed against the Iconoclast emperors by their opponents was their denial of Christ's overlordship,[46] and the most concrete evidence brought to bear in support of this was the fact that these emperors, on their coins, had "replaced" the image of Christ with their own![47] And in the famous letter of the Three Eastern Patriarchs to Theophilus, last of the Iconoclast emperors, there was described a coin of Constantine the Great on which the first Christian emperor de-

is a sort of dichotomy present between the human and the divine aspects of the personality of Christ, as between one and the other portrait. While we doubt that contemporary orthodox theology would have permitted an intention to represent one aspect of Christ's Person exclusively without the other, we can agree upon the nature of the emphasis in each case.

[43] *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 120ff., Chapter VI, *passim*, and pp. 209ff.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[45] Grabar illustrates, *ibid.*, fig. 51, a seal published by Ebersolt, *Revue Numismatique*, 1914, pp. 207ff. & Pl. VII, 3, which bears on one side the image of Christ in the version of our Type A (cross behind head but no apparent nimbus), and on the other a youthful emperor of the name Constantine, portrayed in the style of Iconoclast coins of the eighth century. Grabar argues, p. 129, that this is most probably an issue of Constantine VI, under his mother, Irene, and this would seem most probable; on the other hand, we know that Artavasdus struck coins on which he shared place with his rival Constantine V (cf. Boyce, *op. cit.*), and it is not impossible that this sort of anti-Iconoclast emblem might have been issued by him also, in the name of the Copronymus. In either case, this is an official use of the image of Christ during the interim between Justinian II and Michael III.

[46] Cf. Grabar, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI, esp. p. 152, and pp. 161ff.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 124

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picted not only himself, but Christ and the Cross as well.[48] While this coin (or seal), if it really existed at the time, must have been a fabrication,[49] it surely was evoked, and its description inspired, by surviving coins of Justinian II.

When the time came that the Byzantines could once more venerate religious images, it was in imperial circles that the most prompt action would seem to have been taken,[50] and on the coins that one of the earliest reappearances of the image of Christ took place.[51] To account for the fact that one of Justinian's Christ-types, and not the other, or both of them, was used, we may suggest several complementary reasons: the disappearance of the Camuliana icon, and the general suppression of religious images over more than a century, which led to a lack of familiarity with the wealth of pre-Iconoclastic imagery; at the same time, the permanent separation from Syria and Palestine, now of long standing; and the fact that iconophile theory, as worked out by John of Damascus and his followers, tended to favor the establishment of one standard portrait-type as the "true" one. In the outcome, the more familiar "pam-basileus" image —closer in physical type to the bulk of the population and evoking the sovereignty of Christ which had become so important —won the favor of the first artists, and became the norm.[52]

Thus, while it is incontrovertible that the new types of Justinian II were not conceived originally with any relationship to the problems of the Iconoclastic Controversy—were not, essentially, vehicles of theological ideas at all, but purely of political doctrine[53]—they nevertheless played a key part in the resolution of that Controversy, and thus in the working out of the orthodox program of the place of religious art in the practice of the Christian Faith. Few, if any, numismatic issues can have had at any time so important a part to play in the history of human thought.

[48] Migne, *P. G.* 95, col. 348.
[49] Cf. Grabar, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–8 & 124.
[50] Emphasized by Grabar, *ibid.*, p. 127.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 209ff.
[52] Grabar, *ibid.*, p. 45, having linked our Christ-type B with the Quinisexte Council, suggests that it was dropped after 843 because the problems of the Quinisexte were no longer pertinent to the post-Iconoclastic period. This view seems to us questionable at best, regardless of our interpretation of the coin type; church canons do not go out of fashion or become obsolete in any case, and the pronouncements of the Quinisexte would seem to have been very much alive only a very short time earlier.
[53] Here we may agree whole-heartedly with Grabar, *ibid.*, pp. 126–7.

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I



1. Justinian II. Solidus, Type I-A. Constantinople Mint. A.N.S. 2. Justinian II. Solidus, Type I. Constantinople Mint. A.N.S. 3. Justinian II. Semis, Type I. Constantinople Mint. Tolstoi J. Monnaies Byzantines. Pl. 61, No. 42. 4. Justinian II. Triens, Type I. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks, Whittemore Collection.* 5. Justinian II. Solidus, Type II. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks. 6. Justinian II. Triens, Type II. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks. 7. Justinian II. Solidus, Type III. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks. 8. Justinian II. Semis, Type III. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks, Whittemore Collection.* 9. Justinian II. Solidus, Type IV. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks. 10. Justinian II. Semis, Type IV. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks. 11. Justinian II. Solidus, Type IV-B. Sardinian Mint. Dumbarton Oaks. 12. Justinian II. Follis, Type IV-B. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.

* Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Thomas Whittemore Collection.

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13. Leontius. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks, Whittemore Collection.*
14. Justinian II. Follis, Type III. Constantinople Mint, Year 21. Dumbarton Oaks.
15. Tiberius III. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks, Whittemore Collection.*
16. Constantius II. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
17. Justinian I. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
18. Heraclius. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
19. Heraclius. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks, Whittemore Collection.*
20. Constantine IV. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.

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21 22 23



24



25 26 27 28

21. Constans II. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
22. Leo IV. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
23. Theodosius II. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks, Whittemore Collection.*
24. Constantius II. Gold Medallion. Antioch Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
25. Theodosius II. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
26. Justin I. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
27. Tiberius II. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
28. Phocas. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.

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29

Consular Diptych of Anastasius, 517 A.D. Ivory.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Medailles.

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V



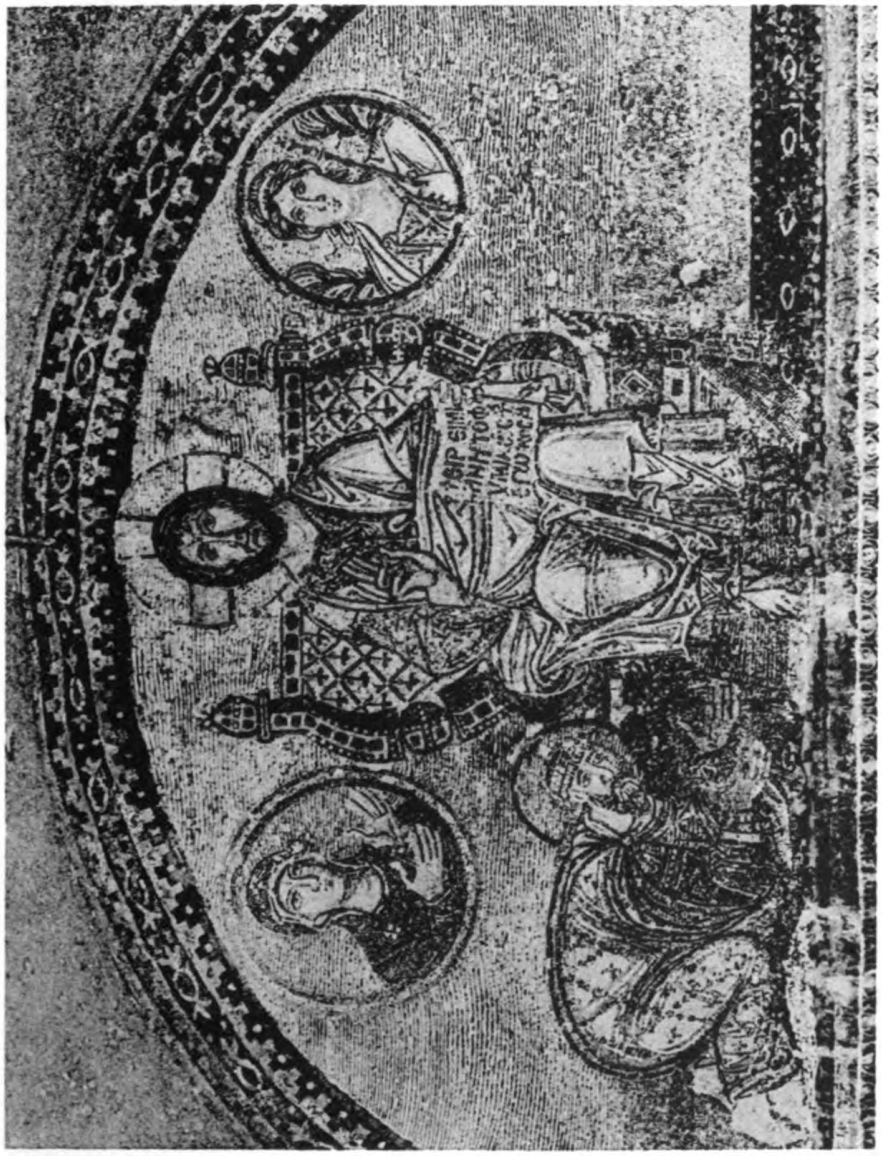
30



31 32 33 34

30. Justinian II. Solidus, Type II: Obverse. Enlarged from Fig. 5.
31. Michael III. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. A.N.S.
32. Michael III. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.
33. Basil I. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks, Whittemore Collection. (Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Thomas Whittemore Collection.)
34. Justin I and Justinian I. Solidus. Constantinople Mint. Dumbarton Oaks.

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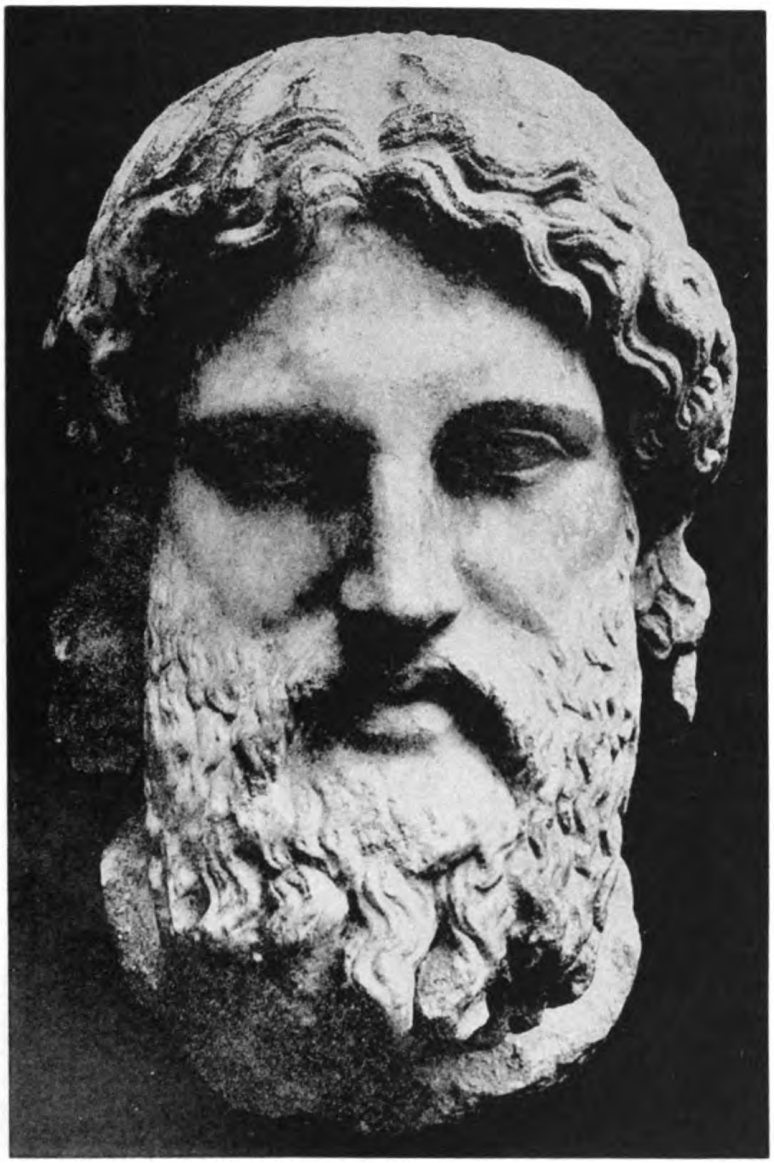
35
Christ as Holy Wisdom, adored by an Emperor. Mosaic from the Narthex, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.

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36 Christ Pantocrator. Mosaic from central dome, Church of Daphni.

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37

Head of Zeus. Marble, found at Mylasa, Caria.
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

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39



38. Justinian II. Solidus, Type III: Obverse. Enlarged from Fig. 7.
39. Christ. Fresco found at Abu Girgeh, Egypt.

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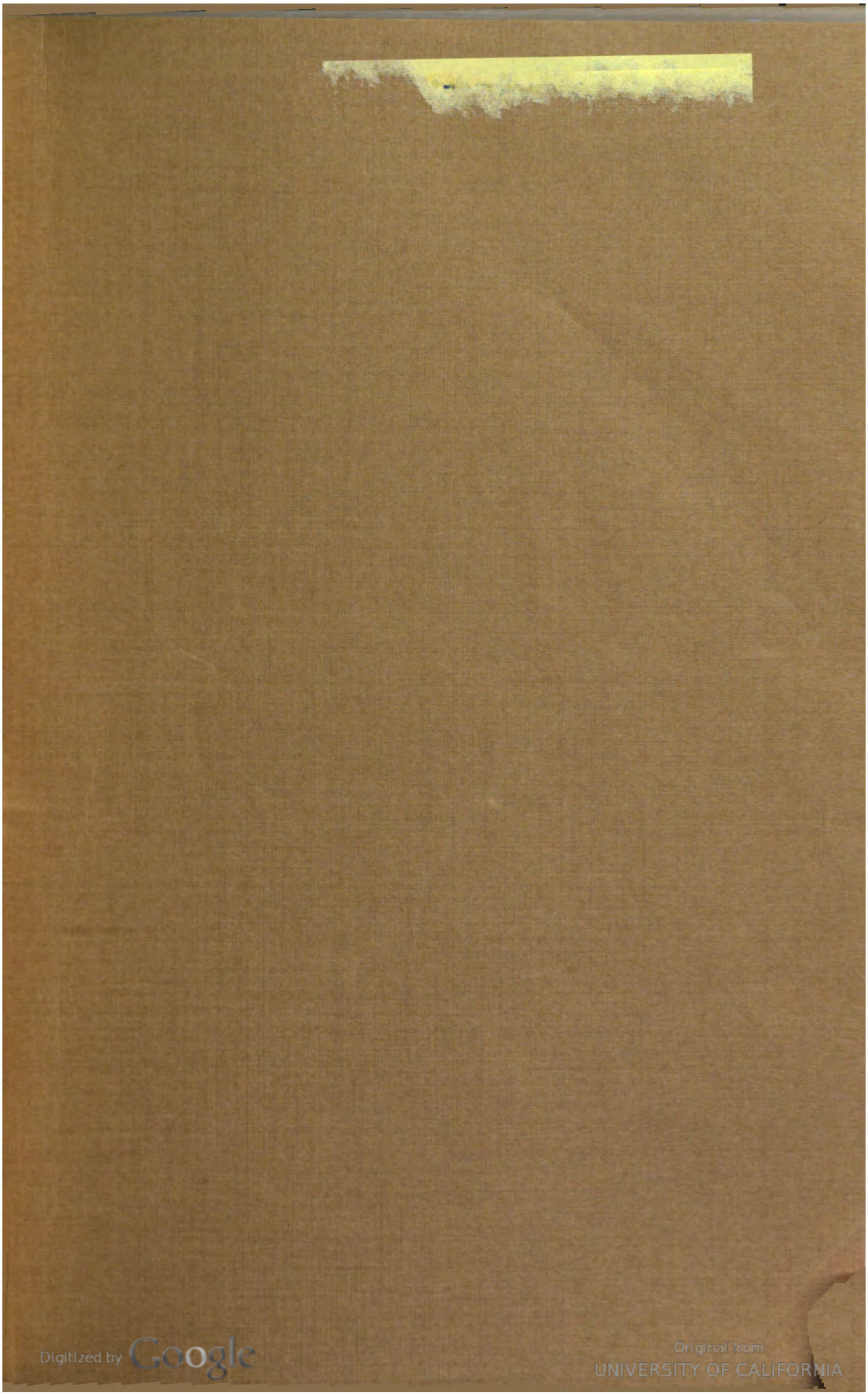
Christ Enthroned with Saints. Dedication Miniature of Rabula Gospels
Florence, Laurentian Library.

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C/G

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 145

COINS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT CURIUM, 1932-1953

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Founded 1858 · Incorporated 1865

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH & 156TH STREETS
NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

Number 145

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932-1953

By D. H. COX



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
NEW YORK
1959

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PREFACE

Any work related to the Curium excavations of the University Museum owes its greatest debt to George H. McFadden whose enthusiasm and support made their continued operation possible. His tragic death in a sailing accident off Cyprus in 1953 brought the excavations to a close.

Thanks are gratefully extended to the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus for sending the coins on loan to the United States for study, and particularly to Mr. A. H. S. Megaw, director of the department, for his personal interest and cooperation. I am again indebted to Mr. James T. Babb, Librarian of Yale University, for putting a room and the facilities of the library at my disposal. There I was fortunate in having Professor A. R. Bellinger at hand. He has not only helped in reading the manuscript and offering valuable suggestions, but relieved me by identifying several hundred Roman coins, at the same time making notes which I have used freely. To my friend Miss Margaret Thompson I am grateful for her critical and most helpful reading of the Greek section of the manuscript. Finally it is a pleasure to thank Mr. G. K. Jenkins and Dr. J. P. C. Kent of the British Museum for willingly answering questions, and to acknowledge my debt to Professor Philip Grierson of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, who has generously permitted me to make extensive use of his unpublished notes.

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INTRODUCTION

The ancient Kurion or Curium, the form more commonly used in numismatic literature, lies on the south coast of Cyprus, west of Limassol on the road to Paphos and near the modern village of Episcopi. Here excavations were carried out under the auspices of the University Museum of Philadelphia between 1932 and 1953 with a break of about ten years during the war and its aftermath. The coins from that excavation are here catalogued, surface finds dated after 1600 A.D. excepted.

The site, inhabited from the bronze age to the present, is spread out along six kilometers of road. To the east of Episcopi are the prehistoric sites of Ermani and Bamboula. Both of these areas produced some coins showing habitation also in historic times. West of the village on a cliff overlooking the sea stands the Roman citadel with baths and theatre adjacent. Somewhat farther west and a little inland is the stadium. From these areas the coins were largely Roman. At the most westerly point explored is the ancient sanctuary of Apollo Hylates. This site produced the earliest of the coins found and also the majority of all the Greek coins unearthed. Although occupied from the eighth century B.C. to about the end of the fourth A.D. there was little stratification of use in dating the coins. In fact, nowhere at Curium was there important stratification, nothing to show the growth or decline of the city. Scattered as the soundings were over a long stretch of road and many kilometers of water-sytem, no real continuity emerged. The coins represent only phases in the life of the city. Their relative numbers can give no indication of the importance of the place at different times. Their significance lies almost wholly in their being found at Curium.

It has long been postulated that during the reign of Euagoras I in the early fourth century B.C. there was a mint at Curium producing silver staters and fractions. None of these silver coins was found, but some small bronzes possibly contemporary with the silver and other bronzes from the time of Euagoras II seem to confirm the fact that

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there was such a mint. The bulk of the Greek coins from the excavations was Ptolemaic from the mint of Paphos. These support to a remarkable degree the attributions made by Svoronos in his monumental work on the coins of the Ptolemies. Poole earlier in the British Museum catalogue, *Coins of the Ptolemies*, and Regling in his review of Svoronos' work contributed other identifications. The Curium coins add little to the combined work of these three scholars beyond probable confirmation of one or the other.

The Roman coins, more self-explanatory than the Greek, present few problems that their presence in Cyprus might solve. No coins of the Roman Republic were found. Among the imperial coins there are comparatively few specimens from the Cyprus mint, the majority are imported from Rome and various Asia Minor mints. The proportion of coins of large denomination is exceptionally high and three bronze medallions further emphasize the Cypriotes' apparent predilection for large money.

The coins throw little new light on the trade relations of Curium. It is known that the Jews did a lively business in Cyprus in the first centuries B.C. and A.D., and this the number of Jewish coins confirms. But from places more remote than Syria or Palestine only single coins were found. The four small coins from Cyzicus are the exception. The fourth century Roman coins struck at Asia Minor mints seem indicative of Roman fiscal policy, not trade.

The later coins too are not without interest. Quantities of small sixth century coins were found in exploring a water-system completed in the time of Justinian. Among these were a few coins of the Vandals and Ostrogoths. The later Byzantine coins, although few in number, may be of help in clearing up the vexed question of a mint for Constans II in Cyprus. The coins of the medieval kings of Cyprus are all surface finds. Few Arabic coins were found and none included in the catalogue.

Coins marked with asterisks in the *Catalogue* are more fully described and commented upon in the *Commentary* following.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Antioch, iv	Dorothy B. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. ii, *IV, part two: Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins* (Princeton, 1952).
Ath. Agora, ii	Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. ii, *Coins from the Roman through the Byzantine Period* (Princeton, 1954).
BMC	*A Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum.*
	Arabia G. F. Hill, *Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (1922).
	Attica B. V. Head, *Attica-Megaris-Aegina* (1888).
	Caria B. V. Head, *Caria, Cos, Rhodes, etc.* (1889).
	Cyprus G. F. Hill, *Cyprus* (1904).
	Galatia Warwick Wroth, *Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria* (1899).
	Ionia B. V. Head, *Ionia* (1892).
	Lycaonia G. F. Hill, *Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia* (1900).
	Lycia G. F. Hill, *Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia* (1894).
	Mysia Warwick Wroth, *Mysia* (1892).
	Palestine G. F. Hill, *Palestine* (1914).
	Phoenicia G. F. Hill, *Phoenica* (1910).
	Pontus Warwick Wroth, *Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosphorus* (1889).
	Ptolemies R. S. Poole, *The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* (1883).
	Troas Warwick Wroth, *Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos* (1894).
	CRE H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire* (1923-).
	Vandals Warwick Wroth, *Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicia and Trebizond* (1911).
	Byz. Warwick Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins* (1908).
Babelon	*Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Perses Achéménides*, Ernest Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides* (1893).
	Rois de Syrie, Ernest Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de la Commagène* (1890).
Bellinger	*Dura vi*, A. R. Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Final Report VI, The Coins* (1949).
C.	H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, 2nd edition (1880–1892).
Dattari	G. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini.* Catalogo della Collezione G. Dattari (Cairo, 1910).
Giesecke	W. Giesecke, *Das Ptolemäer Geld* (Leipzig, 1935).
Gnecchi	F. Gnecchi, *I Medaglioni Romani* (Milan, 1912).
Grant	*FITA* Michael Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, (Cambridge, 1946).
	SMAC Michael Grant, *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, (Edinburgh, 1953).

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	CTC Michael Grant, *The Coinage of Tiberius in Cyprus*, (University of Melbourn, 1957).
Hill	*H. of C.* Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1949)
Im.-B.	*Ka.M.* F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Vienna, 1901–02).
	M.G. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques* (Amsterdam, 1883).
M.	J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne* (Paris, 1908–1912).
Madden	F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (London, 1881).
Mionnet	T. E. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques grecques et romaines* (1806–1837).
Newell	*C. of D. P.*, E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes* (London, 1927).
	SMA, E. T. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch* (New York, 1918).
	WSM, E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (New York, 1941).
Pearce	J. W. E. Pearce, *The Roman Coinage from* A.D. 364–423 (London, 1933).
RIC	H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (London, 1923-).
Sabatier	J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862).
Sch.	G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1878).
Sv.	I. N. Svoronos, Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ χράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων (Athens, 1904–1908).
Sv. iv	Volume iv of the above work contains a German translation of Svoronos' original commentary in vol. i, also a reprint of Kurt Regling's review of vols. i–iii first published in *ZfN*, xxv, 1906, pp. 344 ff. Both the commentary and the review are quoted as they appear here.
Tolstoi	J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines* (St. Petersburg, 1913–1914).

PERIODICALS AND SERIES

AJN	*American Journal of Numismatics* (1866–1924)
ANSMN	*American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* (1945–)
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle* (1838–)
NNM	*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (American Numismatic Society, 1920–)
NZ	*Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Vienna, 1869–1937)
RN	*Revue Numismatique* (1836–)
RS	*Revue Suisse de Numismatique* (1891–1928)
ZfN	*Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin, 1874–1935)

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CYPRUS

TIME OF EUAGORAS I, *c.* 411–374/3 B.C. (23)

Curium

*1	*c.* 390–386 B.C.	Circular shield / Lion's scalp 14, 15 mm. Im.-Bl. *MG*, p. 300, 155 PLATE I	2
*2	*c.* 386–373 B.C.	Head of Apollo r. / Forepart of stag 16 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE I	5
*3	*c.* 386–373 B.C.	Head of Apollo r. / Similar 10–13 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE I	16

EUAGORAS II, *c.* 368–351 B.C. (36)

Curium

*4	*c.* 368–351 B.C.	Head of Apollo 3/4 l. / Lyre 12–14 mm. *NC*, 1926, p. 127, 15 PLATE I	19
*5	*c.* 368–351 B.C.	Similar / Mare r. suckling foal 15–17 mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. cvii, note 3 PLATE I	17

ALEXANDER THE GREAT and later (58)

Uncertain mint

*6	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Heracles' head r. / Zeus seated l. Æ. tetradr. (half, plated).	1

Curium(?)

*7	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Similar / Bow in case and club; symbol, laurel branch 19–21 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE I	2
8	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Similar / Similar; same symbol 15–18 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE I	20

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	Uncertain mint		
7a	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Similar / Similar; symbol obscure 19–21 mm.	4
8a	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Similar / Similar; symbol obscure 15–18 mm.	11
9	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Similar / Similar; symbol obscure 10–12 mm.	6
	Paphos		
10	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Similar / Similar: ⲙ below 17 mm. *NC*, 1915, p. 318, 9	2
	Salamis		
11	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Similar / Club, bow and quiver; ΣA above 16, 17 mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. 65, 87	2
	Tarsus, Cilicia		
12	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Similar / Similar; caduceus and ʘ above 20 mm. *AJN*, 1918, p. 108, 61	1
	Uncertain mint		
13	*c.* 332–316 B.C.	Similar / Type indeterminate 16–18 mm.	9

ANTIGONUS I, *c.* 316–301 B.C. (29)

	Salamis		
*14	*c.* 316–311 B.C.	Macedonian shield / Macedonian helmet; monogram ⲛ 15–17 mm. Newell, *C of D.P.*, p. 18	10
*15	*c.* 306–301 (?) B.C.	Similar / Similar; monogram ⲉ 17 mm. *ibid.* PLATE I	3
16	*c.* 306–301 (?) B.C.	Similar / Similar; monogram ⲉ 14 mm. *ibid.*	1

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17	*c.* 316–301 (?) B.C.	Similar / Similar; illegible monogram 15–17 mm.	15

DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES, *c.* 300 (?)–295 B.C. (31)

Salamis

***18**	*c.* 300–295 B.C.	Helmeted head r. / Prow r.; ⋈ below 15–17 mm. *ibid.* p. 25, 20 PLATE I	13

Uncertain mint

18a	*c.* 300–295 B.C.	Similar / Similar; illegible 15–17 mm.	16

Tarsus (?)

***19**	*c.* 298–295 B.C.	Similar / Similar; illegible 12 mm. cf. *ibid.* p. 50, 40	1

Uncertain mint

***20**	*c.* 306–295 B.C.	Anchor / Bipennis 14 mm. *NC*, 1926, p. 127, 16	1

CITIES IN CYPRUS

SALAMIS (3)

Euagoras II, *c.* 368–351 B.C.

21		Lion walking r. / Horse stg. l. 15mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. 60, 69ff.	1
22		Head of Athena l. / Prow l.; illegible 14 mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. 61, 74	1

Nicocreon, *c.* 331–310 B.C.

23		Head of Aphrodite r., ⋈ in field, *Rev*: Head of Apollo l.; B A in field, Æ didr. *BMC Cyprus*, p. 64, 85 PLATE I	1

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MARIUM (2)

Stasioikos II, 330–312 B.C.

24 Head of Aphrodite r., / Thunderbolt; illegible — 1
13, 15 mm. cf. Im.-Bl. *MG*, p. 379, 87 — PLATE I

PAPHOS (8)

Second half of Fifth Century

25 Bull l.; solar disc above — 1
rev: Eagle flying l. in incuse square
Æ diobol *BMC Cyprus*, p. 41, 41

26 *c.* 350–332 B.C. Head of Aphrodite l. / Dove r.; illegible — 2
16, 19 mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. 44, 48

27 *c.* 350–332 B.C. Head of Aphrodite l. wearing high crown — 1
rev: Dove r.; star above; to r. ☥ C't'm rose
16 mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. lxxviii, ii, — PLATE I

28 *c.* 350–332 B.C. Similar / rose — 4
11, 12 mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. 44, 49, — PLATE I

PTOLEMY I (Soter), 323–285 B.C. (43)

Egypt

***29** *c.* 312–305 B.C. Head of Alexander r. — 1
A]ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΙΥ Athena stg. r.
Æ drachm. (plated) cf. Sv. 43 — PLATE II

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30 *c.* 312–305 B.C. Head of Alexander r. in horned diadem
rev: ΑΛΕ Eagle stg. l. on thunderbolt
11 mm. Sv. 52 1

Cyprus

***31** 311–305 B.C. Head of Aphrodite r. in high headdress
rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ eagle stg. l. on thunderbolt
20 mm. Sv. 74 6

***32** 311–305 B.C. Similar / Similar; in l. field, H (?)
20 mm. cf. Sv. 76 1

***33** 311–305 B.C. Similar / Similar; in l. field, M
19 mm. Unpublished (?) PLATE II 1

***34** 311–305 B.C. Similar / Similar; wreath in l. field
21 mm. Sv. 78 1

***35** 311–305 B.C. Head of Aphrodite r.; bound by taenia
rev: Similar; wreath in l. field
16, 17 mm. Sv. 80 2

35a 311–305 B.C. Similar / Similar; illegible
16, 17 mm. cf. Sv. 79ff. 10

Egypt

36 305–285 B.C. Head of Soter r., diademed
rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in l. field, A
Æ tetradrachm, 13.59 gms.
Sv. 205 PLATE II 1

Cyprus

***37** *c.* 295–291 B.C. Head of Alexander r. wearing horned diad.
rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Similar; aplustre above helmet
18, 20 mm. Sv. 172 PLATE II 2

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***38**	*c.* 295–291 B.C.	Similar / Similar; aplustre above Δ I 18 mm. Sv. 157	1
***39**	*c.* 295–291 B.C.	Similar / Similar; ✕ above helmet 18 mm. Sv. 163	1
40	*c.* 295–291 B.C.	Similar / Similar; illegible 17 mm. cf. Sv. 172	1
***41**	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Head of Zeus r., laureate *rev*: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Similar; 𐌀 / 𐌅 in field 29, 28 mm. Sv. 292	2
***42**	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Similar / Similar; in field, 𐌀 / 𐌇 27 mm. Sv. 293	1
***43**	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Similar / Similar; in field, 𐌀 / Σ 28 mm. Sv. 300 PLATE II	1
43a	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Similar / Similar; illegible 27 mm. cf. Sv. 289ff.	1
***44**	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Alexander's head in elephant's scalp r. / Similar; in field, Σ 20 mm. Sv. 215	1
***45**	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Similar / Similar; in field, 𐌌 20, 22 mm. Sv. 220	2
***46**	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Similar / Similar; in field, X 19 mm. cf. Sv. 235 PLATE II	1
46a	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Similar / Similar; illegible 19, 20 mm. cf. Sv. 215ff.	2
***47**	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Head of Alexander r., diad. / Similar; in field, 𐌇 15 mm. Sv. 239	1
***48**	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Similar / Similar; in field, Σ 17 mm. cf. Sv. 239 PLATE II	1
***49**	*c.* 290–285 B.C.	Head of Ptolemy r., diad. / Similar; illegible 13 mm. cf. Sv. 216f.	1

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PTOLEMY II (*Philadelphus*), 285–246 B.C. (53)

Egypt

*50	267–266 B.C.	Head of Alexander r. / Eagle l.; Δ between legs 24 mm. Sv. 439	3
*51	267–266 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / Similar; Δ between legs 19, 20 mm. Sv. 441 PLATE II	2
*52	266–265 B.C.	Similar / Similar; E between legs 29 mm. Sv. 449	1
*53	263–262 B.C.	Head of Alexander r. / Similar; ⊙ between legs 24 mm. Sv. 467	1
*54	256–255 B.C.	Similar / Similar; O between legs 23 mm. cf. Sv. 493, 494	1
*55	256–255 B.C.	Similar / Similar; O between legs 20 mm. cf. Sv. 493, 494	2
*56	253–252 B.C.	Similar / Similar; P between legs 19 mm. Sv. 500	1

Cyprus

*57	285–266 B.C.	Head of Zeus r. / Eagle l.; shield in l. field, 𐤀 between legs. C't'm. trident 26 mm. Sv. 557	1
*58	285–284 B.C.	Similar / Similar; date, A Both c't'm. trident 29 mm. Sv. 560	2
*59	282–281 B.C.	Similar / Similar; 𐤊 below shield; date, Δ C't'm. trident 27 mm. Sv. 563 PLATE II	1
*60	281–280 B.C.	Similar / Similar; no monogram; date, E C't'm. trident 27 mm. Sv. 568	1

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*61	278–277 B.C.	Similar / Similar; ⊀ below shield; date, ⊙ C't'm. trident 27 mm. Sv. 572 PLATE II	1
*62	277–276 B.C.	Similar / Similar; no monogram; date I C't'm. trident 28 mm. Sv. 576	1
*63	275–274 B.C.	Similar / Similar; ⊀ below shield; date Λ C't'm. trident 26 mm. Sv. 581	1
*64	269–268 B.C.	Similar / Similar; no monogram; date, P 29 mm. Sv. 593	1
*65	267–266 B.C. or 265–264 B.C.	Similar / Similar; no monogram; between legs, ⋀ All c't'm. trident 29, 28 mm. Sv. 553 PLATE II	3
66	285–266 B.C.	Similar / Similar; illegible. Four c't'm. trident 28, 27 mm.	6
67	285–266 B.C.	Head of Alexander r. / Similar; shield, no monogram, no date 21 mm. Sv. 601	1
68	285–266 B.C.	Similar / Similar; illegible 19 mm. cf. Sv. 601	1
*69	285–266 B.C.	Similar / Similar; in l. field, EY/⊀ Two c't'm. trident 19, 20 mm. Sv. 363	9
*70	285–266 B.C.	Similar / Similar; but EY/KI/✕ 20 mm. Sv. 377 PLATE II	3
*71	285–266 B.C.	Similar / Similar; but ΣT/KI/✕ One c't'm. trident 20 mm. Sv. 379	2
71a	285–266 B.C.	Similar / Similar; illegible. One c't'm. trident 20 mm.	2
72	285–266 B.C.	Head of Zeus r. / Similar, illegible 20 mm. cf. Sv. 385	1

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Tyre

*73	285–266 B.C.	Head of Alexander r. / Eagle stg. l.; at l., club above 𐤑 15 mm. Sv. 630 PLATE II	2
*74	285–266 B.C.	Similar/Similar but Π above club 15 mm. Sv. 641	1
*75	285–266 B.C.	Similar / Similar; Σ above club 15 mm. Sv. 642	1
*76	271–246 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / Similar; club in l. field 30 mm. Sv. 707	1

Sidon (?)

*77	*c.* 250–240 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / Eagle l. on thunderbolt; cornucopiae in l. field; illegible 37 mm. cf. Sv. Pl. XXII, 12, 13, 759	1
78	*c.* 250–240 B.C.	Head of Zeus r. laur. / Eagle l., cornucopiae on shoulder; same symbol 31 mm. Sv. 760	1
79	*c.* 250–240 B.C.	Similar / Eagle with open wings; same symbol, illegible 25 mm. Sv. 761	1

PTOLEMY III (Euergetes) 246–221 B.C. (7)

Cyprus

*80	246–221 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / statue of Aphrodite 27 mm. Sv. 1006	1
81	246–221 B.C.	Similar / Similar 19, 20 mm. Sv. 1007	3
82	246–221 B.C.	Similar / Similar 15 mm. Sv. 1008, 9 PLATE III	1

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Phoenicia

83	246–221 B.C.	Bust of Berenike r., illegible / Eagle l., illegible 17 mm. Sv. 1056	1

Uncertain mint

84	246–221 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / Eagle l.; in field, cornucopiae 27 mm. Sv. 1004	1

PTOLEMY IV (*Philopater*) 221–204 B.C. (33)

Cyprus

***85**	221–204 B.C.	Head of Arsinoë r. / Double cornucopiae 10–14 mm. Sv. 1160 PLATE III	32
***86**	221–204 B.C.	Head of Ammon r., K behind / Eagle l., wings closed; illegible 30 mm. Sv. 1193	1

PTOLEMY V (*Epiphanes*) 204–181 B.C. (8)

Cyprus

***87**	204–181 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / Similar; lotus in l. field 26 mm. *BMC Pt.* p. 70, 28; Sv. 841	1
88	204–181 B.C.	Similar / Similar 20 mm. *ibid.* No. 30; Sv. 842 PLATE III	2
89	204–181 B.C.	Similar / Similar 17 mm. *ibid.* No. 31f.; Sv. 843 PLATE III	5

PTOLEMY VI (*Philometor*) 181–146 B.C. (29)

Paphos

90	*c.* 181–174 B.C.	ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ Head of Isis r. *rev.*: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΛΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Eagle l., cornucopiae over shoulder; in field, 𐤀 16 mm. Sv. 1382	1

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91	*c.* 173–146 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / Eagle l., no cornucopiae; lotus in field 44 mm. Sv. 1403 PLATE III	1
***92**	*c.* 173–146 B.C.	Similar / Similar; lotus in field, Σ between legs 45 mm. Sv. 1412 PLATE III	1
***93**	*c.* 173–146 B.C.	Similar / Similar; ΣE between legs 37 mm. Sv. 1414	1
94	*c.* 173–146 B.C.	Similar / Similar; scepter over l. shoulder 27 mm. Sv. 1406	1
***95**	*c.* 173–146 B.C.	Similar / Similar; but no scepter 21, 22 mm. Sv. 1407	6
***96**	*c.* 173–146 B.C.	Similar / Similar 16–18 mm. Sv. 1408 PLATE III	18

PTOLEMY VI and PTOLEMY VIII, 168–163 B.C. (8)

Cyprus

97	168–163 B.C.	Similar / two eagles stg. l.; cornucopiae in l. field 25 mm. Sv. 1425	1
98	168–163 B.C.	Similar / Similar 19–21 mm. Sv. 1426 PLATE IV	7

PTOLEMY VI, VIII or IX, 181–116 B.C. (1)

Cyprus

***99**	181–163 B.C.	Head of youthful Dionysus r. / Eagle l. Æ didrachm cf. Sv. 1800 β	1

PTOLEMY VIII (*Euergetes II*) 170–116 B.C. (25)

Salamis

100	129 B.C.	Head of Ptolemy I r. / Eagle l. holds sceptre; LMA ΣA in field Æ tetradrachm Sv. 1554	1

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Paphos

*101	144 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / Eagle l.; LKS above lotus 25 mm. Sv. 1621	1
102	143 B.C.	Similar / Similar; but, LKI 24 mm. Sv. 1622	1
103	142 B.C.	Similar / Similar; to l., LKH over lotus, to r. cap with strings 24 mm. Sv. 1624 PLATE IV	1
104	136 B.C.	Similar / Similar; to l., LΛΔ over lotus 23 mm. Sv. 1629	1
105	135 B.C.	Similar / Similar; LΛE over lotus 25 mm. Sv. 1630	1
105a	135 B.C.	Similar / Similar; date illegible 24, 25 mm. cf. Sv. 1621ff.	6
*106	*c.* 139–130 B.C.	Similar / Similar; but sceptre over shoulder 38 mm. Sv. 1636	2
*107	*c.* 139–130 B.C.	Similar / Similar; no sceptre, no date, lotus in field 14–16 mm. Sv. 1639, 1705	8

Cyprus, uncertain mint

*108		Similar / Similar; crested helmet in l. field (one double struck) 31 mm. Sv. 1635 PLATE IV	2
*109	*c.* 120–116 B.C.	Similar / EYEPΓE Eagle l. 11 mm. Sv. 1656	1

PTOLEMY X (*Soter II*) 116 –80 B.C. (38)
PTOLEMY XI (*Alexander I*) 114–88 B.C.

Paphos

*110	*c.* 114–80 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / two eagles l.; in l. field, eagle stg. l. 38 mm. Sv. 1695	1

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Paphos

111 *c.* 114–80 B.C. Similar / Similar; in l. field, cornucopiae 10
19, 20 mm. Sv. 1698 PLATE IV

111a *c.* 114–80 B.C. Similar / Similar; symbol illegible 5
19–22 mm. cf. Sv. 1698

112 *c.* 114–80 B.C. Similar / Similar; in field, wreath 1
23 mm. Sv. 1702

113 *c.* 114–80 B.C. Similar / Similar; no symbol 2
30, 31 mm. Sv. 1712

114 *c.* 114–80 B.C. Similar / One eagle; symbol missing or illegible 8
11–16 mm. Sv. 1715, 1716 PLATE V

Paphos

115 112–111 B.C. Head of Ptolemy Soter r. 1
rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
Eagle with closed wings l.; at l. LΓ above cap with strings; at r., ΠΑ
Æ tetradrachm Sv. 1744

***116** 114–80 B.C. Head of Ammon r. / Eagle l.; in field, star above Δ 1
24 mm. Sv. 1706

***117** 114–80 B.C. Similar / Similar; in l. field, star above T 3
23–24 mm. Sv. 1711 PLATE IV

***118** 114–80 B.C. Similar; star at r. / two eagles stg. l., scepter over shoulders 1
27 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE IV

***119** 114–80 B.C. Similar / Similar; cap with strings in l. field 5
18–24 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE IV

PTOLEMY XIII (*Neos Dionysos*), 80–58 B.C. and 55–51 B.C. (14)

Cyprus

***120** 80–58 B.C. Head of Ammon r. / Eagle l.; aplustre in l. field 10
22–30 mm. Sv. 1813 PLATE IV

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***121**	80–58 B.C.	Similar / Similar; cornucopiae in l. field 24–26 mm. Sv. 1814 PLATE IV	4

CLEOPATRA VII and PTOLEMY XIV, XV and XVI, 51–30 B.C. (31)

Cyprus

***122**	51–30 B.C.	Head of Ammon r. / two eagles l.; in l. field, headdress of Isis 23–25 mm. Sv. 1843	18
***123**	51–30 B.C.	Similar / Similar; but head-dress above ☙ 23–26 mm. Sv. 1842 PLATE V	8
***124**	51–30 B.C.	Similar / Eagle stg. l., palm over shoulder; at r., ♗ 26–28 mm. Sv. 1875 PLATE V	5

Barbarous Imitations, Ptolemy X and Later (33)

Cyprus

125	First Century B.C.	Similar / two eagles stg. l.; cornucopiae in l. field 31 mm.	1
126	First Century B.C.	Similar / Eagle stg. l. 22 mm. cf. Sv. 1918	1
127	First Century B.C.	Similar / Similar 16 mm. cf. Sv. 1919	1
127a		Unidentified Ptolemaic	30

From Ptolemaic Times

***128**	*c.* Second Century B.C.	Head of Zeus r., laur. *rev*: Zeus stg. l., in r. one or two ears of grain, in l. sceptre; star above head. 14–18 mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. lxxxi, 2 PLATE V	21

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IMPERIAL TIMES

AUGUSTUS, 27 B.C.–14 A.D. (10)

*129	27 B.C.	IMPCAES ... Head r., bare / illeg. Nike l. semis, 23 mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. 73, 1	1
*130	22 B.C.	Illeg. Head r., bare / illeg. Zeus Salaminios stg. l. quadrans, 17 mm. *ibid.*, p. 73, 4	1
*131	22 B.C.	Capricorn, star above. / Scorpion, star at r. 16 mm. Hill, *NC*, 1917, p. 24	1

AUGUSTUS and CAIUS (7)

*132	5 B.C.–4 A.D.	Head of Augustus r., laur. / Head of Caius r., bare 24, 25 mm. *NC*. 1924, p. 14, 25a and 26	6
*132a	5 B.C.–4 A.D.	Similar / Similar 24 mm. *cf. ibid.*, p. 15, 27 PLATE V	1

TIBERIUS, 14–37 A.D. (4)

133	*c.* 14–15 A.D.	Head of Tiberius r., bare *rev*: Head of Augustus r. rad.; star above, thunderbolt to r. 28 mm. *BMC Cyprus*, p. cxx, pl. xxvi, PLATE V	3 1
134	*c.* 15–35 A.D.	Head r., bare / Livia enthroned r. 24 mm. *ibid.* p. 74, 5f.	1

DRUSUS JULIUS CAESAR (1)

*135	22–23 A.D.	Head r., bare / Zeus Salaminios and Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos 17 mm. cf. *ibid.* p. 74, 7, 8 PLATE V	1

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CLAUDIUS, 41–54 A.D. (4)

136 41–54 A.D. Head r., laur /KOINON/KYΠPI /ΩN in wreath 3
35, 36 mm. *ibid.* p. 75, 12f.

137 41–54 A.D. Similar /EΠI KOMINIOY ΠPOKΛOY . . . ; in centre, KYΠPI / ΩN 1
24 mm. *ibid.* p. 76, 16

TRAJAN, 98–117 A.D. (2)

138 112–117 A.D. Bust r., laur. 1
rev: ΔHMAPX ЄΞ YΠATOC Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos
26 mm. *ibid.* p. 83, 40 PLATE VI

139 112–117 A.D. Similar / Inscp. same. Zeus Salaminios stg. holds patera and sceptre. In ex., KOINON KYΠPION 1
33 mm. *ibid.* p. 83, 39 PLATE V

ANTONINUS PIUS and MARCUS AURELIUS, 140–161 A.D. (10)

***140** *c.* 140 A.D. Head of Pius r., laur. / Bust of Marcus r., head bare 8
25–33 mm. *ibid.* p. 84, 44ff. PLATE VI

141 *c.* 140 A.D. Head of Pius r., laur. and rad. / Similar 2
27 mm. *ibid.* p. 85, 52f.

SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, 193–211 A.D. (1)

142 193–211 A.D. Bust r., laur. / Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos 1
21 mm. *ibid.* p. 85, 54

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JULIA DOMNA, 193–217 A.D. (1)

143 193–217 A.D. Bust r. / Similar 1
30 mm. *ibid.* p. 86, 56f. PLATE VI

ELAGABALUS, 218–222 A.D. (16)

***144** 218–222 A.D. Head r., laur. / within wreath, 16
ΔЄ above star
17–22 mm. *BMC Galatia*,
p. 205, 447ff. PLATE VI

SEVERUS ALEXANDER, 222–235 A.D. (19)

***145** 222–235 A.D. Head r., laur. / Similar 19
16–19 mm. Westholm, *Soli*,
p. 100, 308 PLATE VI

ELAGABALUS or SEVERUS ALEXANDER, 218–235 A.D. (21)

146 218–235 A.D. Head r. laur. illeg. / Similar 21
16–21 mm.

NON-CYPRIOTE GREEK COINS

MEGARA (1)

147 *c.* 307–243 B.C. Prow l. / ΜΕΓ two dolphins 1
15 mm. *BMC Attica*, p. 120, 21

CORINTH (1)

148 *c.* 387–307 B.C. Pegasus l. / Head of Athena 1
r.; behind, N and aryballos
22 mm. (once plated) Ravel II,
p. 262, 1058

PHENEUS, Arcadia (1)

***149** *Caracalla*, *c.* 202–205 A.D. Head r., laur. / Hades-Serapis seated l. Cerberus at his feet 1

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22 mm. Im.-Bl. and Gardner, p. 98, 3 *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanius*, London 1887

SICYON (1)

150	*c.* 258–146 B.C.	Head of Apollo r. / Dove flying l.; illegible 17 mm. cf. *BMC Peloponnesus*, p. 55, 234f.	1

NICOMEDIA, Bithynia (1)

151	*Macrinus*, 217–218 A.D.	Bust r. laur. / Pallas l. 30 mm. *BMC Pontus*, p. 189, 55	1

CYZICUS, Mysia (4)

***152**	*c.* 27 B.C.–98 A.D.	Head of Apollo r. / Lyre; KY in field 13, 14 mm. *BMC Mysia*, p. 41, 173f.	4

PERGAMUM (1)

	Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus,		
***153**	161–169 A.D.	Confronted heads laur. / Asclepius and Hygieia 33 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE VI	1

ALEXANDRIA TROAS (1)

	Caracalla,		
***154**	211–217 A.D.	Bust r., laur. / Apollo stg l. holds branch 26 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE VI	1

MAGNESIA, Ionia (1)

	Maximinus,		
***155**	235–238 A.D.	Bust r., laur. / Asclepius seated beneath tree 30 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE VI	1

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IASUS, Caria (1)

*156	*Antoninus Pius*, 138–161 A.D.	Head r., laur. / Zeus Serapis seated l. 34 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE VII	1

COS, Caria (1)

157	*c.* 366–300 B.C.	Heracles' head l. / Crab; club below, illegible 11 mm. cf. *BMC Caria*, p. 196, 25f. PLATE VII	1

RHODES (1)

158	*c.* 333–304 B.C.	Head of Rhodes r. / Rose, illegible 10 mm. *BMC Caria*, p. 238, 74ff.	1

ANTIOCH, Pisidia (1)

159	*Caracalla*, 211–217 A.D.	Head r., laur. / Tyche l. holds branch and cornucopiae 22 mm. *BMC Lycia*, pp. 182f., 40–43	1

PERGE, Pamphylia (2)

160	*Second-First Century* B.C.	Head of Artemis r. / Artemis stg. l. with stag 16 mm. *ibid.*, p. 120, 6	2

SIDE, Pamphylia (2)

161	*c. Third Century* B.C.	Head of Athena r. / Pomegranate 17 mm. *ibid.*, p. 150, 59	1
*162	*Caracalla*, 211–217 A.D.	Head r., laur. / Atargatis on lion r. 24 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE VII	1

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SELGE, Pisidia (2)

163	*Second-First Century* B.C.	Head of bearded Heracles r. / thunderbolt at l. 13 mm. cf. *ibid.* p. 261, 45 ff. PLATE VII	1
164	*c. First Century* B.C.	Similar / thunderbolt and bow CЄΛΓЄ 13 mm. Im.-B. *Ka. M*, ii, p. 403, 12 PLATE VII	1

ANEMURIUM, Cilicia (1)

***165**	*Treboniarus Gallus*	Head r., laur. / Cult figure of Artemis and stag 30 mm. unpublished (?) PLATE VII	1

CORYCUS, Cilicia (1)

166	*Valerian*	Bust r., rad. / Dionysus stg. l. beside prize crown on table 35 mm. *BMC Lycaonia*, p. 69, 21	1

SOLI, Cilicia (1)

167	*Fourth Century* B.C.	Head of Athena r. / Bunch of grapes 12 cm. *ibid.* p. 150, 34	1

SELEUCID KINGS OF SYRIA (3)

	Seleucus I,		
168	*c.* 286–281 B.C. (Antioch)	Heracles head r. / Bull butting r. illegible 14 mm. Newell, *WSM*, p. 100, 928	1
	Demetrius I,		
169	162–150 B.C. (Sidon)	Head r., diad. C't'm. prow. / Galley r. 18 mm. Babelon *Rois de S.* p. 100, 786	1

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Alexander Bala,

*170	150–145 B.C.	Heads of Alexander and Cleopatra r. / Cornucopiae 18 mm. *ibid.* p. 119, 928 PLATE VII	1

Alexander II,

171	128–123 B.C.	Effaced / Cornucopiae 19 mm. cf. *ibid.* p. 168, 1302 ff.	1

Antiochus VIII,

172	125–96 B.C. (Antioch)	Head r., rad. / Eagle l., sceptre over shoulder. Date off flan. 20 mm. Newell, *SMA*, p. 95, fig. 20	1

ANTIOCH, Syria (26)

Augustus,

*173	14 B.C.–27 A.D. *After* 14 B.C.	Head r., bare / SC in wreath 25 cm. Grant, *FITA*, p. 100, v. Pl. III, 21	1
174	*c.* 4–5 A.D.	Illeg. Head r. / Wreath; inscp. illeg. 32 mm. cf. *ibid.* p. 100, vii, Pl. III, 22 for type see Wruck, 12	1

Macrinus,

175	217–218 A.D.	Bust r., laur. / Within wreath SC, Є above, Δ below 19, 20 mm. *BMC Galatia*, p. 198, 388	2

Diadumenian,

176	217–218 A.D.	Bust r., laur., SC in field / Within wreath, SC, Є above Δ below 19 mm. *ibid.* p. 201, 413	1

Elagabalus,

*177	218–222 A.D.	Head r., laur. / Within wreath, SC, ΔЄ above, eagle below 19–21 mm. *ibid.* p. 203, 431 ff. PLATE VII	9
*178		Head r., rad. / Similar 18–21 mm. *ibid.* p. 203, 426 ff.	10

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*179		Head r., laur. / Within wreath SC, Δ above, Є below 18 mm. *ibid.* p. 204, 438ff.	1
	Severus Alexander,		
180	222–235 A.D.	Bust r., laur. illeg. / Similar 19 mm. *ibid.* p. 207, 468f.	1

LAODICEA-ad-MARE (3)

	Elagabalus,		
181	218–222 A.D.	Head r., laur. / Bust of Tyche r. in distyle shrine 18 mm. *ibid.* p. 261, 101ff. PLATE VII	2
182		Head r., rad. / Two wrestlers 18 mm. *ibid.* p. 262, 105ff.	1

SELEUCIA PIERIA (1)

	Septimus Severus,		
183	193–211 A.D.	Head r., laur. / Thunderbolt on stool 21 mm. *ibid.* p. 275, 49 PLATE VII	1

BERYTUS, Phoenicia (7)

184	*c.* 15 B.C. to early First Century A.D.	Marsyas stg. l.; COL in field / BER above prow r. 11, 12 mm. *BMC Phoenicia*, p. 56, 27ff.	6
	Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus,		
185	161–169 A.D.	Head of Marcus r. above eagle / Head of Verus r. above eagle l. 24 mm. *ibid.* p. 68, 109f.	1

CARNE (1)

*186	*Mid Second Century* B.C.	Bust of Tyche r. / Cornucopiae 15 mm. cf. *ibid.* p. 211, 56 PLATE VII	1

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TRIPOLIS (3)

Hadrian,

187 117 A.D. Bust r., laur. / Caps of the Dioscuri 1
15 mm. *ibid.* p. 211, 56

Macrinus,

188 217–218 A.D. Bust r., laur. / Temple of Astarte, statue within 1
30 mm. *ibid.* p. 221, 105

Elagabalus,

189 218–222 A.D. Bust r. / Similar 1
30 mm. *ibid.* pp. 223f., 118f.

TYRE (2)

***190** 153–154 A.D. Head of Tyche r. / Astarte on galley l. 2
12, 13 mm. *ibid.* p. 261, note 1
PLATE VII

JUDAEA (22)

Alexander Jannaeus,

191 103–76 B.C. Semitic inscp. in wreath /Double cornucopiae and poppyhead 2
14 mm. *BMC Palestine*, p. 202, 30ff.

192 Anchor / Star 1
14 mm. *ibid.* p. 207, 61ff.

Herod Archelaus,

193 4 B.C.–6 A.D. Bunch of grapes / Helmet 1
17 mm. *ibid.* p. 232, 10ff.

Herod Philip II,

194 30–31 A.D. Head of Tiberius r. / Tetrastyle temple 1
18 mm. *ibid.* p. 228, 4

Procurators under Tiberius,

195 29–30 A.D. Three ears of barley / Simpulum 2
15 mm. *ibid.* p. 257, 54ff.

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Herod Agrippa,

196 42–43 A.D. Umbrella with fringe / Three ears of barley 8
16–18 mm. *ibid.* p. 236, 1 ff.

Agrippa II,

197 *c.* 66 A.D. Fist; illeg. / Monogram; illeg. 1
14 mm. Madden p. 146, 5

Procurators under Claudius,

198 54 A.D. Inscription in wreath / crossed palms 2
15, 16 mm. *BMC Palestine*, p. 261, 1 ff.

Procurators under Nero,

199 58–59 A.D. Palm branch / NЄP / ωNO / C within wreath 1
16 mm. *ibid.* p. 267, 15 ff.

First revolt of the Jews,

200 67–68 A.D. Amphora / Vine leaf 3
17, 18 mm. *ibid.* p. 272, 22 ff.

GAZA, Judaea (1)

Commodus,

***201** 175–176 A.D. Bust r., head bare / Two divinities in temple 1
26 mm. cf. de Saulcy, p. 226, 2 PLATE VII

NABATAEA, Arabia (3)

Aretas IV,

202 9 B.C.–40 A.D. Busts of Aretas and Shaquilath r. / Crossed cornucopiae 3
17 mm. *BMC Arabia*, p. 8, 14

CARRHAE, Mesopotamia (1)

Caracalla,

203 211–217 A.D. Bust r., laur. / Bust of City Goddess 1
19 mm. *ibid.* p. 85, 16 ff.

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ALEXANDRIA, Egypt (3)

Trajan,

204 98–117 A.D. Head r., laur. / Ibis r., illegible date 1
13 mm. Dattari, p. 80, 1213ff.

Hadrian,

205 128 A.D. Head r., laur. / two cornucopiae 1
19 mm. Dattari, p. 120, 1915

Antoninus Pius,

206 150 A.D. Head r., laur. / Zeus Ammon l., ram at his feet 1
29 mm. Dattari, p. 191, 2954

UNIDENTIFIED GREEK COINS (3)

207 Facing female head wearing high headdress / Effaced 1
19 mm.

***208** Male head r. diademed / Quadruped l.; illegible 1
16 mm. PLATE VIII

***209** Nude male fig. stg. l. / Stag r. 1
17 mm. PLATE VIII

ROMAN COINS

AUGUSTUS 27 B.C.–14 A.D. (5)

The East

***210** After 14 B.C. Head r. bare / AVGVSTVS in wreath 1
As *BMC*, i, p. 117, 731ff.

***211** *Cyprus* Similar / CA in wreath 4
Semis *BMC*, i, p. 115, 708ff. PLATE VIII

AGRIPPA (1)

Rome

***212** *c.* 35–41 A.D. Head l. / SC Neptune l. 1
As *BMC*, i, pp. 142f., 161f.

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NERVA 96–98 A.D. (1)

Rome

213 96 A.D. Head r., laur. / **FISCI IVDAIC CALVMNA SVBLATA SC** Palm tree 1
Ses. *BMC*, iii, p. 15, 88

TRAJAN 98–117 A.D. (3)

Rome

214 104–111 Head r., laur. / **SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC** Roma and Dacian 1
Ses. *BMC*, iii, p. 164, 772f.

215 *c.* 114–115 Bust r., laur. / Illeg. Fortuna seated l. 1
Ses. *cf. BMC*, iii, p. 219, 1026

216 98–117 Similar / Uncertain type 1
Ses.

HADRIAN 117–138 A.D. (2)

Rome

217 119–138 Head r., laur. / **P M TR P COS III** Concordia seated l. 1
Den. *BMC*, iii, p. 261, 165

Nordicum

218 117–138 Head r., laur. / **MET NOR** in wreath 1
Quadrans *BMC*, iii, p. 533, 1850

ANTONINUS PIUS 138–161 A.D. (4)

Rome

219 161 Head r., bare / **CONSECRATIO** Pyre. 1
Den. *BMC*, iv, p. 394, 58ff.

220 145–161 Head r., laur. / **FELICITAS AVG SC** Felicitas l. 1
Ses. *BMC*, iv, p. 271, 1679

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221 150–151 Head r., laur. / **TR POT X [IIII COS IIII] SC ANNONA AVG** Annona seated l. 1
Ses. *BMC*, iv, p. 309, 1866

222 138–161 Head r., laur. / Wolf r. suckling twins. Illegible 1
Ses. C., 1046

ANTONINUS PIUS and MARCUS AURELIUS (1)

Rome

223 140 Head of Pius r. / Illegible. Head of Marcus r. 1
As *cf. BMC*, iv, p. 196, 1221ff.

FAUSTINA SR. 138–141 A.D. (2)

Rome

224 After 141 Bust r. / **AETERNITAS** Providentia l. 1
Den. *BMC*, iv, p. 56, 373ff.

225 138–141 Bust r. / Female fig. stg. l. 1
As *cf. BMC*, iv, Pl. 37, 4

MARCUS AURELIUS 161–180 A.D. (7)

Rome

226 162 Bust r., laur. / **CONCORDIA AVGVSTOR SC COS III** Marcus and Verus clasping hands 1
Ses. *BMC*, iv, p. 546, 1011

227 164 Similar / **VICT AVG TR P XVIII IMP II COS III** Victory and captive 1
Ses. *BMC*, iv, pp. 560f., 1092ff.

228 176 Head r., laur. / **CLEMENTIA AVG TR P XXX IMP VIII SC** Clementia l. 1
Ses. *BMC*, iv, p. 646, 1537f.

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229 180 **DIVVS M ANTONINVS PIVS / CONSECRATIO** Marus on eagle flying r. Ses. *BMC*, iv, p. 763, 394 — 2

MARCUS AURELIUS and COMMODUS 175–180 A.D. (1)

Rome

***230** 175–180 Confronted busts / Inscription Medallion, 48 mm., Unpublished (?), 97. 55 gms. PLATE VIII — 1

LUCIUS VERUS 161–169 A.D. (1)

Rome

231 161 Bust r., laur. / **CONCORDIA AUGUSTOR TR P SC COS II** Marcus and Verus Ses. *BMC*, iv, p. 523, 861 — 1

FAUSTINA JR. 161–176 A.D. (1)

Rome

232 161–176 Bust r. / **FECVND AVGVSTAE SC** Fecunditas, four children Ses. *BMC*, iv, p. 531, 904 — 1

COMMODUS 180–192 A.D. (7)

Rome

***233** 182 Bust r., laur. / **VOTA PVBLICA** Sacrificial scene Medallion, 39 mm. Gnecchi, ii (1), Pl. 89,7 — 1

***234** 192 Busts of Commodus and Roma jugate, r. / Emperor and Hercules at altar Medallion, gilt, 42 mm. Gnecchi, ii (1), Pl. 85,9 PLATE VIII — 1

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235	179	Head r., laur. / **IMP II COS II PP SC** Minerva at altar Ses. *BMC*, iv, p. 678, 1699f.	2
236	186 (?)	Similar / Illeg. Quadriga r. Ses. *cf. BMC*, iv, p. 804, 574	1
237	188–189	Similar / **MINER VICT PM TR P XIIII IMP VIII COS V PP SC** Minerva Ses. *BMC*, iv, p. 820, 629	1
238	180–192	Similar / Illeg. Female fig. Ses.	1

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS 193–211 A.D. (1)

Rome

239	201–210	Head r., laur. / **INDVLGENTIA AVGG, IN CARTH** Dea Caelestis r. on lion Den. *BMC*, v, p. 218, 335ff.	1

JULIA DOMNA 193–217 A.D. (1)

Rome

240	196–209	Bust r. / **CERES SC** Ceres l. Ses. *BMC*, v, p. 307, 764f.	1

CARACALLA 211–217 (2)

Rome

241	*c.* 210–213	Head r., laur. / **PROVIDEN-TIA DEORVM** Providentia l. Den. *BMC*, v, p. 373, 99	1
242	215	Head r., laur. / **PM TR P XVIII. COS IIII PP SC** Aesclepius As *BMC*, v, p. 489, 293	1

MACRINUS 217–218 (1)

Rome

243	217–218	Bust r., laur. / Uncertain type Ses.	1

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ELAGABALUS 218–222 A.D. (I)

	Rome		
244	220–222	Bust r., laur. / **FORTVNA REDVCI** Fortuna l. Den. (once plated) *cf. BMC*, v, p. 561, 205	1

SEVERUS ALEXANDER 222–235 A.D. (II)

	Rome		
245	231	Head r., laur. / **PM TR P X COS III PP SC** Sol stg. l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 111, 513	1
246	232	Bust r., laur. / **PM TR P XI COS III PP SC** Sol stg. l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 112, 525d	1
247	222–231	Bust r., laur. / **ANNONA AVGVSTI SC** Annona l. Ses. *RIC* iv (2), p. 114, 548	1
248	222–231	Bust r., laur. / **IVSTITIA AVGVSTI SC** Justitia seated l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 115, 563b	1
249	222–231	Bust r., laur. / **VICTORIA AVGVSTI SC** Victory r. inscribing shield Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 119, 616	1
250	222–231	Head r., laur. / **VICTORIA AVGVSTI SC** Victory l. with wreath and palm Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 119, 618	1
251	231–235	Bust r., laur. / **MARS VLTOR SC** Mars r. Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 120, 635d	2
252	231–235	Bust r., laur. / **PROVIDENTIA AVG SC** Providentia l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 121, 642b	1

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253	231–235	Head r., laur. / **SPES PVB-LICA SC** Spes l.	1
		Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 121, 648a	
254	222–235	Bust r., rad. / **SC** Uncertain stg. figure	1
		Dup.	

JULIA MAMAEA 222–231 A.D. (2)

Rome

255	221–231	Bust r., diad. / **FELICITAS PVBLICA SC** Felicitas l.	1
		Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 125, 676	
256	221–231	Bust r. on crescent / Similar	1
		Dup. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 125, 678	

MAXIMINUS 235–238 A.D. (6)

Rome

257	238	Bust r., laur. / **PM TR P IIII COS P P SC** Emperor and two standards	1
		Den. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 139, 6	
258	235–236	Bust r., laur. / **FIDES MILI-TVM SC** Fides with two standards	1
		Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 144, 43	
259	235–236	Bust r., laur. / **PAX AVGV-STI SC** Pax stg. l.	1
		Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 145, 58	
260	235–236	Similar / **SALVS AVGVSTI SC** Salus seated l. feeding snake at altar	2
		Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 145, 64	
261	236–238	Bust r., laur. / **VICTORIA GERMANICA SC** Victory l.; captive at her feet	1
		Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 147, 90	

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BALBINUS 238 A.D. (1)

	Rome		
262	238	Bust r., laur. / **P M TR P COS II P P SC** Emperor l. with branch and parazonium Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 171, 16	1

PUPIENUS 238 A.D. (1)

	Rome		
263	238	Bust r., laur. / **PAX PVBLICA SC** Pax seated l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (2), p. 175, 22	1

GORDIAN III 238–244 A.D. (25)

	Rome		
264	238–239	Bust r., laur. / **PAX AVGVSTI SC** Pax stg. l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 43, 256a	1
265	240	Bust r., laur. / **CONCORDIA AVG SC** Concordia seated l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 46, 278a	1
266	240	Bust r., laur. / Similar Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 47, 287	1
267	239–240	Bust r., laur. / **PM TR P COS II PP SC** Gordian sacrificing l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 46, 280	2
268	239–240	Bust r., laur. / Similar Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 47, 291	1
269	241–244	Similar / **AETERNITATI AVG SC** Sol l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 48, 297a	1
270	241–244	Similar / **IOVI STATORI SC** Jupiter r. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 48, 298a	6
271	241–244	Similar / **LAETITIA AVG N SC** Laetitia l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 48, 300a	2

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272 243 Similar / **P M TR P V COS II PP SC** Apollo seated l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 48, 303a

273 241–244 Similar / **PM TR P VI COS II PP SC** Same type 2
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 48, 304a

274 241–244 Similar / **SECVRITAS AVG SC** Securitas seated l. 2
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 49, 311a

275 243–244 Similar / **FELICIT TEMPOR SC** Felicitas l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 51, 328a

276 243–244 Similar / **FELICITAS TEMPORVM SC** Same type 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 51, 330

277 243–244 Similar / **MARS PROPVGNAT SC** Mars r. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 52, 332a

278 243–244 Similar / **VICTORIA AETER SC** Victory l. with shield and captive 2
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 52, 337a

PHILIP I 244–249 A.D. (9)

Rome

279 244–247 Bust r., rad. / **AEQVITAS AVGG** Aequitas l. 1
Ant. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 71, 27b

280 246 Bust r., laur. / **PM TR P III COS PP SC** Felicitas l. 2
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 87, 149a

281 244–249 Similar / **AEQVITAS AVGG SC** Aequitas l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 89, 165

282 244–249 Similar / **ANNONA AVGG SC** Annona l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 90, 168a

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283	244–249	Bust r., laur. / Similar Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 90, 168d	1
284	244–249	Bust r., laur / **FIDES EXERCITVS SC** Four standards Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 90, 171a	2
285	244–249	Similar / **LAET FVNDATA SC** Laetitia l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 90, 176a	1

OTACILIA 244–249 A.D. (3)

Rome

286	244–249	Bust r. / **CONCORDIA AVGG SC** Concordia seated l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 94, 203a	2
287	244–249	Similar / **PIETAS AVGVSTAE SC** Pietas l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 94, 208a	1

TRAJAN DECIUS 249–251 A.D. (3)

Rome

288	249–251	Bust r., laur. / **DACIA SC** Dacia l. holding standard Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 135, 112a	1
289	249–251	Similar / **DACIA FELIX SC** Same type Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 135, 114a	1
290	249–251	Similar / **VICTORIA AVG SC** Victory running l. Ses. *RIC*, iv (3) p. 136, 126c	1

HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA 249–251 A.D. (1)

Rome

291	249–251	Bust r. / **FEGVNDITAS AVG SC** Fecunditas stg. l., and child Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 137, 134	1

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HOSTILIAN 251 A.D. (1)

Rome

292 251 Head r., bare / **PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS SC** Apollo seated l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 149, 215a

TREBONIANUS GALLUS 251–253 A.D. (3)

Rome

293 251–253 Bust r., laur. / Illeg. Apollo l. 1
Ses. *cf. RIC*, iv (3), p. 171, 103f.

294 251–253 Bust r., laur. / **IVNONI MARTIALI SC** Juno seated in circular temple 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 171, 110a

295 251–253 Bust r., laur. / **SALVS AVGG SC** Salus stg. r. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 172, 121a

VOLUSIAN 251–253 A.D. (3)

Rome

296 251–253 Bust r., laur. / **FELICITAS PVBLICA SC** Felicitas l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 188, 251a

297 251–253 Similar / **LIBERALITAS AVGG SC** Liberalitas l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 188, 254a

298 251–253 Similar / **PAX AVGG SC** Pax stg. l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 188, 256a

AEMILIAN 253 A.D. (1)

Rome

299 253 Bust r., rad. / **ERCVL VICTORI** Hercules stg. r. 1
Ant. *RIC*, iv (3), p. 194, 3b, Pl. VIII

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VALERIAN 253–260 A.D. (2)

Rome

300 253 Bust r., laur. / **VICTORIA AVGG SC** Victory l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, v (1), p. 52, 177

301 254 Bust r., laur. / Similar 1
As *RIC*, v (1), p. 53, 200

GALLIENUS 253–268 (3)

Rome

302 253–268 Bust r., rad. / Uncertain type 1
Ant.

303 253–268 Bust r., laur. / **PAX AVGG SC** Pax l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, v (1), p. 86, 231

304 253–268 Similar / **CONCORDIA AVGG SC** Concordia l. 1
Ses. *RIC*, v (1), p. 85, 207

CLAUDIUS II 268–270 A.D. (2)

Antioch

305 268–270 Bust r., rad. / **IVNO REGINA** Juno l. 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (1), p. 229, 212

306 268–270 Head l., rad. / **AETER AVG** Diana and Sol 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (1), p. 228, 198

AURELIAN 270–275 A.D. (1)

Antioch

307 270–275 Bust r., rad. / **RESTITVT ORBIS** Emperor and woman 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (1), p. 308, 386

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TACITUS 275–276 A.D. (1)

Antioch

308 275–276 Bust r., rad. / **CLEMENTIA TEMP** Emperor and Jupiter; **Z** 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (1), p. 347, 210

PROBUS 277–282 A.D. (7)

Antioch

309 277–282 Bust r., rad. / **CLEMENTIA TEMP** Emperor and Jupiter; **A**, **A·**, **Δ·**, **Є**, **Ϛ·** 7
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 119, 922

CARUS 282–283 A.D. (3)

Cyzicus

310 282–283 Bust r., rad. / **CLEMENTIA TEMP** Emperor and Jupiter; **Є** 2
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 149, 118

Antioch

311 282–283 Similar / **VIRTVS AVGGG** Same type 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 150, 125

CARINUS 283–285 A.D. (4)

Cyzicus

312 283–284 Similar / **CLEMENTIA TEMP** Same type; **Δ** 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 178, 324

Antioch

313 282–283 Bust r., rad. / **VIRTVS AVGGG** Emperor and Jupiter; **ЄΔ** 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 164, 208

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314 283–284 Bust r., rad. / Similar; Γ, S 2
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 179, 325

NUMERIAN 282–284 A.D. (1)

Antioch

315 282–284 Bust r., rad. / **VIRTVS AVGG** Emperor and Jupiter; Γ 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 202, 466

DIOCLETIAN 284–305 A.D. (17)

Heraclea

316 *c.* 296 Similar / Similar; A, Γ 2
Ant. *NZ*, 1899, pp. 296, 309

Cyzicus

317 284–296 Similar / Similar; B (2); Є 3
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 253, 306

318 *c.* 296 Similar / Similar; Γ (2), Є 4
Ant. *NZ*, 1899, pp. 299, 309

Antioch

319 285–296 Bust r., rad. / **IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG** Emperor and Jupiter; ЄΔ 3 3
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 256, 324

320 *c.* 299 Similar / **CONCORDIA MILITVM** Same type; Γ 1
Ant. *NZ*, 1918, p. 12

Uncertain mint

321 Similar / **CLEMENTIA TEMP** Same type 1
Ant. C., 18

MAXIMIAN 285–305 A.D. (14)

Siscia

322 *c.* 300–305 Head r., laur. / **GENIO POPVLI ROMANI** Genius l.; A 1
Æ 3 *M.* ii, p. 295, VII, 1

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Heraclea

323 *c.* 296 — Bust r., rad. / **CONCORDIA MILITVM** Emperor and Jupiter; Γ — 1
Ant. *NZ*, 1899, pp. 297, 309

Cyzicus

324 *c.* 293 — Similar / Similar; Γ, Δ, S — 3
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), p. 291, 606f.

325 *c.* 296–305 — Similar / Similar; A, Δ, Є (2) — 4
Ant. *NZ*, 1899, pp. 299, 309

Antioch

***326** *c.* 285–295 — Similar / **IOV ET HERCV CONSER AVGG** Jupiter and Hercules; B̈ — 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), 294, 622

327 *c.* 285–295 — Similar / **CONCORDIA MILITVM** Emperor and Jupiter; B̈ — 1
Ant. *RIC*, v (2), 294, 671

Alexandria

328 *c.* 305 — Bust r., rad. / **CONCORDIA MILITVM** Emperor and Jupiter; A, Γ — 2
Ant. *M.* iii, p. 229, VIII, 1

Uncertain mint

329 — Bust r., rad. / **CONCORDIA MILITVM** Emperor and Jupiter — 1
Ant. C., 50ff.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS 305–306 (3)

Heraclea

330 *c.* 296 — Similar / Similar; A — 1
Ant. *NZ*, 1899, pp. 297, 309

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Cyzicus

331 *c.* 296 — Bust r., rad. / **CONCORDIA MILITVM** Emperor and Jupiter; B — 2
Ant. *NZ*, 1899, pp. 298, 309

GALERIUS 305–311 A.D. (5)

Heraclea

332 296–305 — Bust r., rad. / **CONCORDIA MILITVM** Emperor and Jupiter — 1
Ant. *NZ*, 1899, pp. 299, 309

Alexandria

333 *c.* 305–306 — Bust r., rad. / **CONCORDIA MILITVM** Emperor and Jupiter; B — 1
Ant. M., iii, p. 230, VIII, 4

334 *c.* 308–311 — Head r., laur. / **VIRTVS EXERCITVS** Mars r.; Γ — 1
Æ 2 M., iii, p. 240, III. 1

335 *c.* 308–311 — Similar / **GENIO IMPERATORIS** Genius l.; B, Є — 2
Æ 2 M., iii, p. 238, II. 1

VALERIA 305 A.D. (1)

Uncertain mint

336 — Bust r., diad. / Incuse of obverse — 1
Æ 2

SEVERUS II 306–307 A.D. (1)

Alexandria

337 306–307 — Bust r., rad. / **CONCORDIA MILITVM** Emperor and Jupiter; A — 1
Ant. M., iii, p. 232, XIII. 3

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MAXIMINUS DAZA 308–313 A.D. (5)

Cyzicus

*338 312–313 Head r., laur. / IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter l.; S * 1
Æ 2 *cf.* M., iii, p. 108, II PLATE VIII

Antioch

339 305–308 Head r., laur. / GENIO POPVLI ROMANI Genius l.; ∈ 1
Æ 3 M. iii, p. 151, VI, 1

340 308–311 Similar / GENIO IMPERATORIS Similar; ∈ 1
Æ 3 M., iii, pp. 165f., XVII. 2

Uncertain mint

341 Similar / GENIO AVGVSTI (?) Genius l. 1
Æ 2 *cf.* C., 17ff.

ANTIOCH-Autonomous

342 *c.* 295–310 GENIO ANTIOCHENI Tyche seated / APOLLINI SANCTO Apollo r.; ∈ 1
Æ 3 Dieudonné, *Mel. n.* i, pp. 289–310

MAXENTIUS 306–312 A.D. (1)

Ostia

343 309–311 Head r., laur. / AETERNITAS AVG N Castor and Pollux with horses; MOSTQ 1
Æ 2 (Cut in half) M., i, p. 268, III. 1

LICINIUS SR. 307–323 A.D. (16)

Rome

344 314–317 Bust r., laur. / SOLI INVICTO COMITI Sol l.; P (2), S 3
Æ 3 M., i, p. 310, I. 2

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Siscia

345 313–314 Head r., laur. / IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter and eagle; Γ — 2
Æ 3 M., ii, p. 324, I. 4

Heraclea

346 315–317 Bust l., laur. / PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate; B — 1
Æ 3 M., ii, p. 578, II. 1

***347** 320–324 Bust r., rad. / IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter, eagle and captive; B — 1
Æ 3 M., ii, p. 590, I. 1

Nicomedia

348 313–314 Head r., laur. / Similar, eagle at feet; B — 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 27, I. 1

349 318–320 Bust r., rad. / Similar, eagle and captive; B — 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 44, I. 1

Cyzicus

350 313–314 Head r., laur. / IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter and eagle; Δ — 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 111, I. 1

351 317–318 Bust l., laur. / IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG Similar, wreath and Δ — 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 119, I. 1 PLATE IX

352 318–324 Bust r., rad. / IOVI CONSERVATORI Similar; Δ — 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 123, I. 1

Antioch

353 311–312 Head r., laur. / GENIO AVGVSTI Genius l.; * BI — 1
Æ 2 M., iii, p. 174, IV. 2

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354 317–318 Bust l., laur. / **IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG** Jupiter l. and captive; Є (2) 2
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 193, I. 2

355 318–319 Bust r., laur. / **IOVI CONSERVATORI** Similar; Ϛ 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 195, I. 2

LICINIUS JR. (2)

Nicomedia

356 318–324 Bust l., helmeted / **IOVI CONSERVATORI** Jupiter, eagle and captive; **A** 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 45, I. 3

Antioch

***357** 315–317 Bust l., laur. / **PROVIDENTIAE CAESS** Gate 1
Æ 3 *cf.* M., iii, p. 188, V

CONSTANTINE I 307–337 A.D. (53)

Rome

358 312–313 Similar / **SOLI INVICTO COMITI** Sol l. 1
Æ 3 M., i, p. 203, II. 1

359 313–317 Similar / Similar; **R * P, RT** 2
Æ 3 M., i, p. 210, I. 1

360 317–320 Similar / Similar; wreath and **RT** 1
Æ 3 M., i, p. 220, II

361 324–326 Head r., laur. / **PROVIDENTIAE AVGG** Gate; **S** 1
Æ 3 M., i, p. 238, I

Ostia

362 312–313 Bust r., laur. / **SOLI INVICTO COMITI** Sol l. 1
Æ 2 M., i, p. 285, VI. 2

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	Ticinum		
363	320–324	Similar / **VOT XX** in wreath; **TT** Æ 3 M., ii, p. 271, III. 1	1
	Treves (?)		
364	320–324	Helmeted bust r. / **VIRTVS EXERCIT** Standard Æ 2 M., i, p. 436, VIII. 1	1
	Arles		
365	314–317	Bust r., laur. / **SOLI INVICTO COMITI** Sol l.; **S** Æ 3 M., ii, p. 148, IV bis. 1	1
366	317–320	Similar / Similar Æ 3 M., ii, p. 158, I. 1	1
	Thessalonica		
367	320–324	Similar / **VOT XX** in wreath **∈VI** Æ 3 M., ii, p. 444, III	1
368	324–326	Similar / **PROVIDENTIAE AVGG** Gate; **Δ** Æ 3 M., ii, p. 461, I. 1	2
	Constantinople		
369	333–335	Bust r., diad. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards; **A** (3), Æ 3 M., ii, p. 529, III. 1	4
370	After 337	Veiled head r. / Quadriga r. Æ 4 M., ii, p. 548, I	1
371	After 337	Similar / **VN MR** Pietas r. Æ 4 M., ii, p. 548, II	1
	Nicomedia		
372	After 337	Similar / Similar; **A**, **Γ** Æ 4 M., iii, p. 81, XV	2
	Cyzicus		
373	324–326	Head r., laur. / **PROVIDENTIAE AVGG** Gate; **Γ** Æ 3 M., iii, p. 126, I. 1	1

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374	333–335	Bust r., diad. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers two standards; ϵ· Æ 3 M., iii, p. 133, III. 1	1
375	335–337	Similar / Similar; Δ Æ 3 M., iii, p. 137, III. 1	1
376	After 337	Veiled head r. / **VN MR** Pietas r.; H Æ 3 M., iii, p. 141, II	1
	Antioch		
377	315–317	Bust r., laur. / **IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG** Jupiter and eagle; B Æ 3 M., iii, p. 187, I. 2	1
378	318–324	Bust r., rad. / **IOVI CONSERVATORI** Similar; A, ϵ Æ 3 M., iii, p. 195, I. 1	2
379	324–326	Head r., diad. / **PROVIDENTIAE AVGG** Gate; Δϵ, Γ, ϵ Æ 3 M., iii, p. 202, I. 1	3
380	After 337	Veiled head / **VN MR** Pietas; Γ (2) Æ 3 M., iii, p. 217, II	2
	Alexandria		
381	313–314	Head r., laur. / **IOVI CONSERVATORI** Jupiter l., eagle; B Æ 3 M., iii, p. 258, I. 2	1
382	318–324	Bust r., rad. / **IOVI CONSERVATORI** Jupiter, eagle and captive; Δ Æ 3 M., iii, p. 270, I. 2	1
383	324–326	Head r. / **PROVIDENTIAE AVGG** Gate Æ 3 M., iii, p. 273, I. 1	1

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384	335–337	Bust r., diad. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards; **A** Æ 3 M., iii, p. 276, I. 1	2
385	After 337	Veiled head r. / **VN MR** Pietas; Γ, Δ Æ 4 M., iii, p. 281, II	5
	Uncertain mint		
386		Bust r., laur. / **SOLI INVICTO COMITI** Sol l. Æ 3 C., 536	1
387		Bust r., diad. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards Æ 3 C., 254	1
388		Veiled head r. / **IVST VEN MEM** Aquitas winged l. Æ 3 *cf.* C., 314	1
389		Veiled head r. / **VN MR** Pietas Æ 3 C., 716	7
		URBS ROMA (10)	
	Thessalonica		
390	*c.* 335–340	Helmeted bust r. / Wolf and twins; ∈ Æ 4 M., ii, p. 473, II	1
	Heraclea		
391	*c.* 335–340	Similar / Similar Æ 4 M., ii, p. 603, I	1
	Constantinople		
392	*c.* 335–337	Similar / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, one standard; ∈ Æ 3 M., ii, p. 538, XII. 1	1
	Nicomedia		
393	*c.* 335–337	Similar / Wolf and twins; Ϛ Æ 3 M., iii, p. 75, V	1

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Antioch

394 *c.* 335–337 — Similar / Similar; Θ — 2
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 213, III. 1

Alexandria

395 *c.* 335–340 — Helmeted bust r. / Similar; A — 2
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 280, II

Uncertain mint

396 — Similar / Similar — 2
Æ 4 C., 19

CONSTANTINOPOLIS (4)

Constantinople

397 335–340 — Bust l. helmeted / Victory l.; ∈ — 1
Æ 3 M., ii, p. 537, XI

Antioch

398 335–340 — Similar / Similar — 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 213, IV

Uncertain mint

399 — Similar / Similar — 2
Æ 3 C., 21

HELEN (3)

Antioch

400 324–326 — Bust r. / **SECVRITAS REI-PVBLICE** Securitas l. — 2
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 203, V

Uncertain mint

401 — Similar / **PAX PVBLICA** Pax l. — 1
Æ 3 C., 4

CRISPUS (2)

Siscia

402 317–320 — Bust r., laur. / **PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS** Crispus r. — 1
Æ 3 M., ii, p. 335, IV. 2

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Heraclea

403	320–324	Bust r., laur. / **IOVI CONSERVATORI** Jupiter, eagle and captive; Γ Æ 3 M., ii, p. 590, I. 4	1

CONSTANTINE II 337–340 A.D. (14)

Rome

404	320–324	Bust r., laur. / **VOT / X** in wreath; T Æ 3 M., i, p. 233, XI. 7	1
405	337–340	Bust r., diad. / **VIRTVS AVGVSTI** Emperor; P Æ 3 C., 233	1

Constantinople

406	335–337	Bust r., laur. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards; Γ Æ 3 M., ii, p. 533, I. 2	1

Nicomedia

407	337–340	Bust r., diad. / Similar, but one standard; Ϛ Æ 3 M., iii, p. 81; Voetter, *Const. Jr.*, Pl. 4	1

Cyzicus

408	324–326	Similar / **PROVIDENTAE CAESS** Gate; Є Æ 3 M., iii, p. 127, II. 3	1
409	333–335	Bust r., diad. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards; Γ Æ 3 M., iii, p. 134, III. 7	1

Antioch

410	333–335	Similar / Similar; I Æ 3 M., iii, p. 210, I. 2	2

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411 335–337 Similar / Similar, but one standard; Θ (2) 2
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 213, II. 2

Alexandria

412 335–337 Bust r., laur. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers; two standards; **A** 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 276, I. 2

Uncertain mint

413 Bust r., laur. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards 2
Æ 3 C., 122

414 Similar / Similar, but one standard 1
Æ 3 C., 114

CONSTANS I 337–350 A.D. (18)

Rome

415 337–340 Bust r., diad. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, one standard; **T** 2
Æ 3 C., 62

Constantinople

416 337–340 Head r., diad., / Similar; Є 1
Æ 3 C., 60

Nicomedia

417 335–337 Bust l., laur. / Similar; Γ 2
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 75, IV. 5

418 337–340 Bust r., diad. / Similar; A, Ϛ 2
Æ 3 C., 62

419 343–348 Similar / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath; B (2) 2
Æ 4 C., 197 1

420 337–350 Similar / **SPES REIPVBLICE** Emperor l.; B
Æ 4 C., 106

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Cyzicus

421 335–337 Bust l., laur. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers; one standard; Γ — 1
Æ 3 M., iii, p. 139, IV. 4

422 337–340 Bust r., diad. / Similar — 1
Æ 3 C., 62

Antioch

423 343–348 Similar / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath; Γ — 1
Æ 4 C., 197

Alexandria

424 335–337 Bust l., laur. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, one standard — 1
Æ 4 M., iii, p. 280, I. 3

425 343–348 Bust r., diad. / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath; A — 1
Æ 4 C., 197

Uncertain mint

426 Similar / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, one standard — 1
Æ 4 C., 62

427 Similar / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath — 1
Æ 4 C., 197

428 Bust l., diad. / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Soldier captive and hut — 1
Æ 3 C., 19

CONSTANTIUS II 337–361 A.D. (154)

Rome

429 348–353 Bust r., diad. / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Emperor on ship; S and palm — 1
Æ 2 C., 32

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430	348–361	Similar / Same inscription. Soldier spearing horseman Æ 3 C., 45	5
431	337–361	Similar / **SPES REIPVBLICE** Emperor Æ 4 C., 188	1
	Siscia		
***432**	348–356	Similar / **HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS** Victory crowning emperor; Γ Æ 2 C., 142	1
	Thessalonica		
433	337–361	Similar / **SPES REIPVBLICE** Emperor; Δ Æ 4 C., 188	1
434	348–361	Similar / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Soldier spearing horseman; Γ, Δ Æ 3 C., 45	2
	Constantinople		
435	333–335	Bust r., laur. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards; Ϛ Æ 3 M., ii, p. 529, III. 3	1
436	348–353	Bust r., diad. / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Soldier spearing horseman; B, H, I Æ 2 C., 44	3
437	348–361	Similar / Similar; A, Ϛ, Z, IA Æ 3 C., 45	4
438	337–361	Similar / **SPES REIPVBLICE** Emperor l.; B Æ 4 C., 188	1
	Heraclea		
439	*c.* 324	Bust l., laur. / **PROVIDENTIAE CAESS** Camp gate; Γ Æ 3 M., ii, p. 597, V 3	1

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440	337–340	Head r., diad. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, one standard; B Æ 3 C., 102	1
441	343–348	Similar / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath; Z Æ 4 C., 335	1
442	348–361	Bust r., diad. / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Soldier spearing horseman Æ 3 C., 45	2
	Nicomedia		
443	343–348	Similar / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath; Δ Æ 4 C., 335	1
444	348–353	Similar / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Soldier spearing horseman; A Æ 2 C., 44	1
445	348–361	Similar / Similar Æ 3 C., 45	3
446	337–361	Similar / **SPES REIPVBLICE** Emperor; B Æ 4 C., 188	1
	Cyzicus		
447	333–337	Similar / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards; A (2), B Æ 3 M., iii, p. 134, III. 10	4
448	337–340	Similar / Similar, one standard; A (2); B (2) Γ (2) Æ 3 C., 102	6
449	348–353	Bust l., diad. / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Emperor and captives; A, B Æ 2 C., 39	2

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450	348–353	Bust r., diad. / Same inscription. Soldier spearing horseman; Γ Æ 2 C., 44	3
451	348–361	Similar / Similar; B, Γ Æ 3 C., 45	3
452	337–361	Similar / SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor l. Æ 4 C., 188	1
	Antioch		
453	333–337	Bust r., laur. / GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers, two standards; B Æ 3 M., iii, p. 210, I. 3	1
454	335–337	Similar / Similar, one standard; B, H Æ 3 M., iii, p. 213, II. 3	2
455	337–340	Bust r., diad. / Similar; H Æ 3 C., 95	1
456	343–348	Similar / VOT XX MVLT XXX in wreath; B, Γ, Z, BI Æ 4 C., 335	8
457	348–353	Similar / FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor, two captives; A Æ 2 C., 39	1
458	348–353	Similar / Same inscription; Soldier spearing horseman; Ϛ, Z, BI, ΔI Æ 2 C., 44	8
459	348–361	Similar / Similar; A, B, Γ, Δ, Є, Ϛ, H Æ 3 C., 45	16
460	337–361	Similar / SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor l.; Δ Æ 4 C., 188	2

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Alexandria

461	335–337	Bust r., laur. / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards; **A** Æ 3 M., iii, p. 276, I. 3	1
462	343–348	Bust r., diad. / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath; **Γ** Æ 4 C., 335	1
463	348–353	Bust l., diad. / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Emperor, two captives; **A** Æ 2 C., 39	2
464	348–361	Bust r., daid. / Same inscription, Soldier spearing horseman; **B, Γ, Δ, I** Æ 3 C., 45	16
465	337–361	Similar / **SPES REIPVBLICE** Emperor l.; **A** Æ 4 C., 188	1

Uncertain mint

466		Similar / **GLORIA EXERCITVS** Two soldiers, two standards Æ 3 C., 104	2
467		Similar / Similar, one standard Æ 3 C., 102	2
468		Head r., diad. / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath Æ 4 C., 335	9
469		Bust r., diad. / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Soldier spearing horseman Æ 2 C., 44	12
470		Similar / Similar Æ 3 C., 45	11
471		Similar / Same inscription, Phoenix Æ 3 C., 58	1

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472		Similar / **SPES REIPVBLICE** Æ 4 C., 188	7

CONSTANTIUS GALLUS 351–354 A.D. (3)

Constantinople

473	351–354	Bust r., head bare / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Soldier and horseman Æ 3 C., 9	1

Nicomedia

474	351–354	Similar / Similar; **A** Æ 3 C., 10	1

Uncertain mint

475		Similar / Similar Æ 2 C., 7	1

JULIAN 361–363 A.D. (9)

Rome

476	361–363	Helmeted bust l. / **VOT X MVLT XX** in wreath Æ 3 C., 151	1

Siscia

477	355–360	Bust r., head bare / **SPES REIPVBLICE** Emperor; **Δ** and star Æ 4 C., 42	1

Antioch

478	355–360	Similar / **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** Soldier and horseman; **I** Æ 3 C., 14	2
479	355–360	Similar / **SPES REIPVBLICE** Emperor; **H** Æ 4 C., 42	1

Uncertain mint

480		Similar / Similar Æ 4 C., 43	1

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481		Helmeted bust l. / **VOT X MVLT XX** in wreath Æ 3 C., 151	3

HOUSE of CONSTANTINE (177)

Constantinople

		GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers, one standard	1
		FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier spearing horseman	1

Nicomedia

		GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers, one standard (imitation)	1

Antioch

		VOT XX MVLT XXX in wreath	3
		FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier spearing horseman	3
		SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor	2

Uncertain mint

		GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers, one standard	17
		VOT XX MVLT XXX in wreath	9
		FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier spearing horseman	92
		SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor	48

JOVIAN 363–364 A.D. (1)

Uncertain mint

482	363–364	Bust r., diad. / **VOT V** in wreath Æ 3 C., 31	1

VALENTINIAN I 364–375 A.D. (31)

Siscia

483	364–367	Bust r., diad. / **GLORIA ROMANORVM** Emperor and captive; Γ Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 146, 5a	1

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Nicomedia

484 364–367 Similar / Similar 1
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 252, 9a

Cyzicus

485 364–367 Similar / Similar 1
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 240, 8a

486 364–367 Similar / **SECVRITAS REI-PVBLICAE** Victory; B 1
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 241, 11a

Antioch

487 364–367 Similar / **GLORIA ROMANO-RVM** Emperor and captive; S 2
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 274, 10a

Alexandria

488 364–367 Similar / Similar; **A** 1
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 298, 1a

489 364–367 Similar / **SECVRITAS REI-PVBLICAE** Victory; **A**, Γ 2
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 298, 3a

Uncertain mint

490 Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Emperor and captive 13
Æ 3 C., 12

491 Similar / **RESTITVTOR REIP** Emperor stg. 1
Æ 3 C., 21

492 Similar / **SECVRITAS REIPVB-LICAE** Victory 8
Æ 3 C., 37

VALENS 364–378 A.D. (67)

Rome

493 364–375 Bust r., diad. / **SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE** Victory; **TERTIA** 1
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, pp. 120f., 17b, 24b

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Thessalonica

494 364–378 Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Emperor and captive; A, Δ — 2
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, pp. 176ff., 16b, 26b

Constantinople

495 364–367 Similar / **SECVRITAS REI-PVBLICAE** Victory — 2
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 216, 21b

Cyzicus

496 364–375 Similar / Similar; B, Δ — 2
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 241, 11b, 13b

497 364–375 Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Emperor and captive; A — 1
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, pp. 240f., 8b

Nicomedia

498 364–367 Similar / Similar; A, B, Γ, Δ — 6
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 252, 9b

Antioch

499 364–367 Similar / **SECVRITAS REIPVB-LICAE** Victory; Γ, Δ — 4
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 275, 12b

500 364–367 Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Emperor and captive; B, Γ — 4
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 274, 10b

Alexandria

501 364–367 Similar / **SECVRITAS REIPVB-LICAE** Victory; A, B, Γ, Δ — 9
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 298, 3b

Uncertain mint

502 Similar / Similar — 22
Æ 3 C., 47

503 Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Emperor and captive — 13
Æ 3 C., 11

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504		Similar / **RESTITVTOR REIP** Emperor Æ 3 C.,29	1

GRATIAN 367–383 A.D. (12)

Rome

505	378–383	Bust r., diad. / **VOT XV MVLT XX** in wreath; T Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 128, 51a	1

Thessalonica

506	378–383	Similar / **VIRTVS ROMA-NORVM** Roma seated Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 182, 42	1

Constantinople

507	378–383	Similar / **CONCORDIA AVGGG** Roma seated Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 227, 56f.	1

Antioch

508	378–383	Similar / **VOT X MVLT XX** in wreath; Δ Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 289, 56a	1

Uncertain mint

509		Similar / **SECVRITAS REIPVB-LICAE** Victory Æ 3 C., 34	4
510		Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Emperor and captive Æ 3 C., 23	1
511		Similar / **VOT V** in wreath Æ 4 C., 64	1
512		Similar / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath Æ 4 C., 77	1
513		Similar / **CONCORDIA AVGGG** Roma seated Æ 3 C., 3	1

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VALENTINIAN II 375–392 A.D. (20)

Heraclea

514 378–383 — Helmeted bust r. / **GLORIA ROMANORVM** Emperor on ship — 1
Æ 2 *RIC*, ix, p. 194, 11b

515 383–388 — Bust r., diad. / **VIRTVS EXERCITVS** Emperor and captive — 1
Æ 2 *RIC*, ix, p. 197, 24a

Heraclea

516 383–388 — Similar / **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** Victory and captive; B — 1
Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 198, 26a

Constantinople

517 375–378 — Similar / **CONCORDIA AVGG** Constantinople seated — 1
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 227, 56b

518 388–392 — Similar / **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** Victory and captive — 1
Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 234, 86a

Cyzicus

519 378–383 — Similar / **CONCORDIA AVGG** Constantinople seated; B — 1
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 243, 17b

520 378–383 — Similar / **VOT XX MVLT XXX** in wreath — 1
Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 244, 22b

Antioch

521 378–383 — Similar / **CONCORDIA AVGGG** Constantinople seated — 2
Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 285, 45b

522 378–383 — Helmeted bust r. / **GLORIA ROMANORVM** Emperor on ship; Є — 1
Æ 2 *RIC*, ix, p. 283, 40b

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523	383–388	Bust r., diad. / VOT X MVLT XX in wreath; Γ Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 292, 65a	1
524	383–392	Similar / SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive; B Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 292, 67	2
	Uncertain mint		
525		Similar / Similar Æ 4 C., 30	4
526		Similar / VICTORIA AVGG Victory l. Æ 4 C., 46	2
527		Similar / VOT X MVLT XX in wreath Æ 4 C., 73	1

THEODOSIUS I 378–395 A.D. (21)

	Rome		
528	378–383	Bust r., diad. / VOT XV MVLT XX in wreath; T Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 128, 51d	1
	Thessalonica		
529	379–383	Similar / CONCORDIA AVGGG Roma seated; Δ Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 182, 39c PLATE IX	1
	Constantinople		
530	378–383	Similar / SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive Æ 2 *RIC*, ix, p. 234, 86b	1
531	392–395	Similar / GLORIA ROMA-NORVM Emperor stg. Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 235, 88a	1
	Cyzicus		
532	378–393	Helmeted bust r. / Same inscription. Emperor on ship; Δ Æ 2 *RIC*, IX, p. 242, 14c	1

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	Antioch		
533	379–383	Bust r., diad. / **CONCORDIA AVGGG** Roma seated; Δ Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 287, 47c	1
534	383–388	Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and captive Æ 2 *RIC*, ix, p. 291, 63c	1
535	392–395	Similar / **GLORIA ROMANORVM** Emperor stg.; A Æ 2 *RIC*, ix, p. 294, 68b	2
***536**	*c.* 395	Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and Victory Æ 3	1
	Alexandria		
537	379–383	Similar / **VOT X MVLT XX** in wreath; Δ, Γ Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 301, 13c, 19b	2
538	383–388	Similar / **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** Victory and captive; B Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 303, 20b	2
	Uncertain mint		
539		Similar / **VOT X MVLT XX** in wreath Æ 4 C., 68	2
540		Similar / **VICTORIA AVGGG** Two Victories Æ 4 C., 43	1
541		Similar / **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** Victory and captive Æ 4 C., 30	2
542		Similar / **GLORIA ROMANORVM** Emperor and captive Æ 2 C., 23	1
543		Helmeted bust r. / Same inscription. Emperor on ship Æ 2 C., 19	1

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THEODOSIUS I or II (2)

Uncertain mint

544 Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Three emperors 1
Æ 4

545 Similar / Effaced 1
Æ 4

ARCADIUS 383–408 A.D. (95)

Thessalonica

546 383–388 Bust r., diad. / **GLORIA REI-PVBLICE** Camp gate 1
Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 187, 62c

Constantinople

547 395–400 Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and captive; Γ 1
Æ 2 Pearce, p. 74, 122

548 393–395 Similar / **CONCORDIA AVG** Cross; A 2
Æ 4 Pearce, p. 78, 138

549 393–395 Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and Victory; A, B, Γ 7
Æ 3 Pearce, p. 78, 137

***550** 395–400 Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Three emperors; Δ 1
Æ 4 *cf.* Pearce, p. 78, 142

551 388–395 Similar / **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** Victory and captive; Δ 2
Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 234, 86c; p. 236, 90c

Nicomedia

552 395–400 Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and Victory; Γ 1
Æ 3 Pearce, p. 88, 33

***553** 395–400 Helmeted bust / **CONCORDIA AVGG** Roma seated; A (2) 2
Æ 3 Pearce, p. 86, 22 PLATE IX

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Cyzicus

554	378–383	Bust r., diad. / VOT V in wreath; B Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 244, 20d	1
555	395–400	Similar / VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and Victory; B Æ 3 Pearce, p. 83, 23	1
556	400–408	Similar / GLORIA ROMA-NORVM Three emperors; A, B, Δ Æ 4 Pearce, p. 84, 27	3

Antioch

557	383–392	Similar / SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive; Γ Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 293, 67d	2
558	393–395	Similar / CONCORDIA AVGGG Cross Æ 4 Pearce, p. 96, 55	3
559	395–400	Similar / VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and Victory; A, B, Γ Æ 3 Pearce, p. 95, 52	6
560	400–408	Similar (star) / GLORIA ROMANORVM Three emperors Æ 4 Pearce, p. 96, 57	6

Alexandria

561	393–395	Similar / CONCORDIA AVG Cross; A Æ 4 Pearce, p. 98, 20	2
562	395–400	Similar / VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and Victory; A, Δ Æ 3 Pearce, p. 98, 17	2

Uncertain mint

563		Similar / VICTORIA AVGGG Two Victories Æ 4 *Ath. Agora*, ii. p. 59, 1552	3

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564		Similar / **CONCORDIA AVG** Cross Æ 4 Sabatier, 32	2
565		Similar / **CONCORDIA AVG** Cross in wreath Æ 4 *Ath. Agora*, ii, p. 59, 1557	1
***566**		Similar / No inscription. Cross in wreath Æ 4 Not in Sabatier	1
567		Similar / **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** Victory and captive Æ 4 Sabatier, 41	10
568		Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Three emperors Æ 4 Sabatier, 38	7
569		Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and Victory Æ 3 Sabatier ii, p. 341	25
570		Similar / **VOT V** in wreath Æ 4 Sabatier, 47	1
571		Similar / **VOT X MVLT XX** in wreath Æ 4 Sabatier, 48	1
572		Similar / Uncertain type Æ 4	1

EUDOXIA 395–404 A.D. (2)

Nicomedia

***573**	395–404	Bust r., crown above / **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** Victory seated Æ 3 *cf.* Sabatier, 4	1

Uncertain mint

574		Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Emperor enthroned Æ 3 Tolstoi, i, Pl. 4, 146–148	1

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HONORIUS 393–423 A.D. (65)

Rome

575 393–395 Bust r., diad. / **VBS ROMA FELIX** Roma r. 2
Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 135, 67f.

576 395–400 Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and Victory 1
Æ 3 Pearce, p. 83, 23

Constantinople

577 395–400 Similar / Similar 10
Æ 3 Pearce, p. 78, 137

578 400–408 Helmeted bust / **CONCORDIA AVGG** Roma seated 1
Pearce, p. 76, 126

Heraclea

579 395–400 Bust r., diad. / **GLORIA ROMANORVM** Two emperors 1
Æ 4 Pearce, p. 81, 21

Nicomedia

580 400–408 Helmeted bust / **CONCORDIA AVGG** Roma seated 2
Æ 3 Pearce, p. 86, 22

581 395–400 Bust r., diad. / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and Victory 2
Æ 3 Pearce, p. 88, 33

Cyzicus

582 392–395 Similar / **GLORIA ROMANORVM** Emperor stg. 1
Æ 2 *RIC*, ix, p. 247, 28c

583 393–400 Similar / **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** Victory and captive ; Γ 1
Æ 4 *RIC*, ix, p. 247, 30c

584 395–400 Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and Victory 2
Æ 3 Pearce, p. 83, 23

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585	395–400	Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Two emperors Æ 4 Pearce, p. 84, 25	1
586	400–408	Similar / Same inscription. Three emperors Æ 4 Pearce, p. 84, 27	1
	Antioch		
587	392–395	Similar / Same inscription. Emperor stg. Æ 2 *RIC*, ix, p. 294, 68d	1
588	395–400	Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and Victory; B (2), Γ Æ 3 Pearce, p. 95, 52	5
589	400–408	Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Three emperors Æ 4 Pearce, p. 96, 57	2
	Alexandria		
590	395–400	Similar / **VIRTVS EXERCITI** Emperor and Victory; A Æ 3 Pearce, p. 98, 17	1
591	400–408	Similar (star) / **GLORIA RO-MANORVM** Three emperors; A Æ 4 Pearce, p. 98, 23	1
	Uncertain mint		
592		Helmeted bust / **CONCOR-DIA AVGG** Roma seated Æ 3 C., 4	2
593		Bust r., diad. / **VICTORIA AVGG** or **AVGGG** Victory l. Æ 4 *cf.* C., 39	1
594		Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Two emperors Æ 4 C., 26	8
595		Similar / Same inscription. Three emperors Æ 4 C., 28	1

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596		Similar / **SALVS REIPV-BLICAE** Victory and captive Æ 4 C., 32	4
597		Similar / **VIRTVS EXER-CITI** Emperor and Victory Æ 3 C., 56	13
598		Similar / Uncertain type	1

ARCADIUS or HONORIUS (70)

	Rome		
599	393–395	Bust r., diad. / **VRBS ROMA FELIX** Roma r. Æ 3 *RIC*, ix, p. 135, 67f.	1
	Antioch		
600	395–408	Similar / **VIRTVS EXER-CITI** Emperor and Victory Æ 3	6
	Alexandria		
601	395–408	Similar / Similar; A Æ 3	1
	Uncertain mint		
602		Similar / Similar Æ 3	62

THEODOSIUS II 400–450 A.D. (75)

	Constantinople		
603	425–450	Bust r., diad. / Cross in wreath Æ 4 Sabatier, 32f.	1
604	400–408	Similar / **CONCORDIA AVGG** Cross Æ 3 Pearce, p. 78, 139a	2
605	400–408	Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Two emperors Æ 4 Pearce, p. 78, 141	2
606	408–450	Similar / Similar Æ 4 Pearce, p. 78, 140	1

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607	400–408	Similar / Same inscription. Three emperors; B Æ 4 Pearce, p. 78, 142	2
	Antioch		
608	400–408	Similar / Similar Æ 4 Pearce, p. 96, 57	1
	Alexandria		
609	400–408	Similar / Similar Æ 4 Pearce, p. 98, 23	1
	Uncertain mint		
610		Similar / **CONCORDIA AVG** Cross Æ 4 Sabatier, 26	17
611		Similar / **GLORIA ROMA-NORVM** Three emperors Æ 4 Sabatier, 29	1
612		Similar / **VICTORIA AVG** Victory with wreaths Æ 4 Sabatier, 30	1
613		Similar / No inscription. Cross in wreath Æ 4 Sabatier, 32f.	11
614		Helmeted head / **CONCORDIA AVGG** Roma seated Æ 4 Sabatier, 25	8

VALENTINIAN III 425–455 A.D. (3)

	Cyzicus		
615	425–455	Bust r., diad. / **SALVS REI-PVBLICAE** Victory and captive Æ 4 Pearce, p. 84, 28	1
	Uncertain mint		
616		Similar / Similar Æ 4 C., 5	1
617		Similar / **VOT XX** in wreath Æ 4 *cf.* Pearce, Add. p. 108	1

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VALENTINIAN I – VALENTINIAN III (195)

Rome

VOT XV MVLT XX in wreath	1

Constantinople

CONCORDIA AVGGG Constantinople seated	2

Cyzicus

CONCORDIA AVGGG Constantinople seated	1

Antioch

GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive	3
GLORIA ROMANORVM Three emperors	2
SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive	1

Alexandria

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory	2
CONCORDIA AVGGG Constantinople seated	1

Uncertain mint

CONCORDIA AVG or **GGG** Cross	8
CONCORDIA AVGG Victory with wreaths	2
GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive	36
GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor stg.	1
GLORIA ROMANORVM Two emperors	1
GLORIA ROMANORVM Three emperors	1
RESTITVTOR REIP Emperor	2
SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive	26

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SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory		91
VICTORIA AVG, GG, or GGG Two Victories		11
VICTORIA AVGGG Victory l.		1
VOT XX MVLT XXX in wreath		1
Inscription in wreath		1

MARCIAN 450–457 A.D. (12)

Constantinople

*618	450–457	Bust r., diad. / ℳ in wreath Æ 12 mm. Sabatier, 11 PLATE IX	1

Uncertain mint

*619	450–457	Similar / Similar; with or without cross above, mint mark illeg. 9–11 mm. *ibid.*	5
*620	450–457	Similar / Similar, but star above 9,10 mm. *BMC Vandals*, p. 30, 98f.	3
*621	450–457	Similar / Similar, details uncertain 9, 10 mm. *BMC.*, p. 30, 98ff.	3

LEO I 457–474 A.D. (28)

Constantinople

*622	457–474	Bust r., diad. / ℓ in wreath 10 mm. Sabatier, 17	1
*623		Similar / Lion l. 10 mm. Sabatier, 19	2

Uncertain mint

*624	457–474	Similar / Emperor and captive 11 mm. Sabatier, 14	1
*625	457–474	Similar / Imperial fig. stg. holds globus cr. and transverse sceptre 10, 11 mm. Sabatier, 15	12

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626	457–474	Similar / Emperor with long cross in r. 10 mm. Sabatier, 16	1
627	457–474	Similar / ✠ in wreath 9, 10 mm. Sabatier, 17	2
***628**	457–474	Similar / ✠ in wreath 10, 11 mm. Sabatier, 18	4
629	457–474	Similar / Lion l. 9, 10 mm. Sabatier, 19	4
***630**	457–474	Similar / Monogram of Marcian 9 mm. PLATE IX	1

ZENO 474–476 A.D. (6)

Constantinople

***631**	474–476	Bust r., diad. / ✠ in wreath 8, 9 mm. Sabatier, 19 PLATE IX	5

Rome or Ravenna (?)

***632**	474–475	Bust r., diad. / ✠ in wreath 8 mm. *BMC Vandals*, p. 32, 123ff. PLATE IX	1

BASILISCUS 476–477 A.D. (1)

Uncertain mint

***633**	476–477	Bust r., diad. / ✠ in wreath 10 mm. Unpublished (?) PLATE IX	1

IMITATIONS, AND SO-CALLED "VANDAL" (132)

V^th and VI^th Cent. A.D.

***634**		Bust r. / Victory l. 9–15 mm. *BMC*, p. 22 PLATE IX	32
635		Bust r. / Victory and captive 9–11 mm. *BMC*, p. 22, 44ff.	13
***636**		Bust r. / Victory crowning emperor 12–15 mm. *NC*, 1926, p. 89 PLATE IX	4

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*637		Bust r. / Emperor and captive 10–16 mm. *BMC*, p. 26, 63f.	3
638		Similar / Palm tree 8, 9 mm. *BMC*, p. 26, 68ff.	5
639		Similar / Lion l. 10 mm. *BMC*, p. 26, 65f.	1
640		Similar / Lion r. 9 mm. *BMC*, p. 26, 67 PLATE IX	1
641		Similar / Gate 9, 12 mm. *BMC*, p. 27, 81ff.	2
642		Similar / A in wreath 9 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 34, 141ff.	1
643		Similar / N, star above, all in wreath 9 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 36, 154f. PLATE IX	1
644		Similar / VOT XIII in wreath 9 mm. *BMC*, p. 28, 86ff.	1
645		Similar / VOT XIIII in wreath 9 mm. *BMC*, p. 29, 91ff.	1
646		Similar / IOT IILT, border of dots 9 mm. PLATE IX	2
*647		Similar / Cross potent in wreath, linear or dotted border or without border 8–10 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 38, 173ff. PLATE IX	10
648		Similar / Long cross 10 mm. *BMC*, p. 40, 191ff.	1
649	*c.* 408–450	Similar / in wreath 11 mm. Sabatier, i, Pl. XVIII, 29	1
*650	*c.* 450–457	Similar / , cross above in wreath (?) 9 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 30, 100	1
651	*c.* 474–491	Similar / , no border 9 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 32, 119ff.	1
652	*c.* 474–491	Similar / , no border 9 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 32, 127	1

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***653**	*c.* V^th Cent.	Similar / ⁂ in wreath 9 mm.	2
654	*c.* 491–518	Similar / ⁂, no border of dots, or single line 7, 8 mm. *BMC*, p. 32, 128ff.	14
655	*c.* 491–518	Similar / Similar, no border 7, 8 mm. *cf. ibid.*	11
***656**	*c.* 491–518	Similar / ⁂, linear border 8 mm. *cf. Ath. Agora*, ii, p. 103, 1709	1
***657**	*c.* 491–565	Similar / ⁂ in wreath 10 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 33, 140	1
658	*c.* VI^th Cent.	Similar / ⁂ in double line border 8, 9 mm. *BMC*, p. 37, 159f.	2
659	*c.* VI^th Cent.	Similar / Similar, in single line border 8–9 mm. *cf. ibid.*	11
***660**	*c.* VI^th Cent.	Facing bust, illeg. / I between stars; star in exergue 8 mm. PLATE IX	1
***661**	*c.* VI^th Cent.	Bust r. / Є on blank field. 9–12 mm. PLATE IX	4
662	*c.* VI^th Cent.	Similar / Є star at r. 11, 12 mm. PLATE IX	2
663	*c.* VI^th Cent.	Bust r. / Є cross at r. 14 mm. *cf.* Nos. 689 below PLATE IX	1

VANDALS (9)

HILDERIC 523–530 A.D. (5)

664	523–530	HILD ... RЄX Bust r., diad. / Cross potent in wreath 9, 10 mm. *BMC*, p. 14, 9f.	5

GELIMER 530–533 A.D. (4)

665	530–533	GEIL ... Head r., laur. / ⁂ in wreath 10 mm. *BMC*, p. 16, 4ff. PLATE IX	2

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*666	530–533	Similar, illeg. / ℭ in wreath 9, 10 mm. *cf.* Friedländer, *M.d.Og.*, p. 35 PLATE IX	2

OSTROGOTHS

THEODORIC 493–526 A.D. (1)

Ravenna

667		Illeg. bust of Justin I r. / V in wreath 8 mm. *BMC*, p. 52, 41ff.	1

BADUILA 541–555 A.D. (4)

Italy

668		Bust of Anastasius r. / M in wreath 9 mm. *BMC*, p. 89, 24ff.	2
669		Similar / D̄N̄ REX star above, B below within wreath 9 mm. *BMC*, p. 90, 28f.	1
*670		Facing bust / Lion r., star above all within wreath 9 mm. *BMC*, p. 94, 50ff.	1

BYZANTINE COINS

ANASTASIUS 491–518 A.D. (14)

Constantinople (?)

671	491–518	M in wreath 7–9 mm. *BMC*, p. 7, 59f.	9
672	498–518	Є, pellets between arms; A, B 12, 13 mm. *BMC*, p. 7, 54ff.	2

Nicomedia

*673	498–518	Є, N at r. 13 mm. *BMC*, p. 9, 73	2

Antioch

674	498–518	Є, ANN at r. 13 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 9, 69ff.	1

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JUSTIN I 518–527 A.D. (6)

Constantinople

675 518–527 M, stars to r. and l.
33, 29 mm. *BMC*, p. 14, 20ff.

Nicomedia

***676** 518–527 ✱, N to l., Є to r.
13 mm. *BMC*, p. 16, 47ff.

Antioch

677 518–527 Ɔ, Tyche of Antioch
12 mm. *BMC*, p. 20, 75

***678** 518–527 ✱ in wreath
9 mm. *Antioch*, iv, p. 150, 2079

Uncertain mint

679 518–527 Є, at r., S
12 mm *Ath. Agora*, ii, p. 104, 1749

JUSTINIAN I 527–565 A.D. (28)

Constantinople

680 527–538 M, at l., star, at r., cross
29, 32 mm. *BMC*, p. 29, 28ff.

681 544/5 M, facing bust; A
36 mm. *BMC*, p. 33, 73

682 527–538 K, profile bust; A
23 mm. *BMC*, p. 35, 102

683 538–565 I, dates partially legible
13–16 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 38, 126ff.

***684** 527–565 Є, at r., cross
12–15 mm. Tolstoi, p. 269, 471f.

Nicomedia

685 527–538 M, at l., star, at r., cross; A
30 mm. *BMC*, p. 44, 183

Cyzicus

686 *c.* 558/9 I, partially legible date, year 32 (?)
15 mm. Pindar and Friedländer, *Münzen Justinian*, p. 45

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Alexandria

687 527–565 I B 4
17–18 mm. *BMC*, p. 62, 342ff.

688 527–565 S 1
14 mm. *BMC*, p. 63, 347f.

Carthage (?)

***689** 538–565 Facing bust / ✠ 2
8, 10 mm. *BMC*, *Vandals*, p. liv, *n.* 1
PLATE X

JUSTIN II 565–578 A.D. (12)

Constantinople

690 565–578 M, years 9, 12 3
30–32 mm. *BMC*, pp. 81f., 64, 81

691 565–578 K; years 4, 7 4
19–25 mm. *BMC*, p. 83, 87(2); 91

***692** 565–578 Є; monogram on obverse (cast copy) 1
17 mm. *BMC*, pp. 72f., 421ff., PLATE X

Cyzicus

***693** 565–578 K; illegible date 1
18 mm. *BMC*, p. 91, 185ff.

***694** 565–578 Є, K at r.; monogram on obverse 2
14, 15 mm. *BMC*, p. 73, 423f.

Uncertain mint

***695** 565/6 I, ANNO on l., I on r. 1
16. mm *cf. BMC*, p. 86, 125f.

TIBERIUS II 578–582 A.D. (6)

Nicomedia

696 580/1 M, year 7 (3) 3
28–30 mm. *BMC*, p. 113, 68

Antioch

697 578–582 M, year 5 (2) 2
27–30 mm. *BMC*, pp. 117f., 94

Alexandria

698 I B 1
14 mm. *BMC*, p. 121, 132ff.

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MAURICE TIBERIUS 582–602 A.D. (13)

Constantinople

699 585/6 M; year 4
30 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 131, 33–36

700 586–592 K; years 5, 9, 10
24–27 mm. *BMC*, p. 135, 75, 85

701 582–602 I, star at l., to r., A
20 mm. *BMC*, p. 137, 102f.

Thessalonica

702 583–588 K; years 2, 6, (2)
22 mm. *BMC*, pp. 138f., 109ff.

Nicomedia

703 587/8 M; year 6
27 mm. *BMC*, p. 140, 130

Antioch

***704** 583/90 M; years 2, 8
30 mm. *BMC*, p. 116, 84 PLATE X

705 593/4 M; year 12
30 mm. *BMC*, p. 145, 178

***706** 584/5 X.X; year 3
23 mm. Sabatier, i, p. 234, 25

PHOCAS 602–610 A.D. (2)

Thessalonica

707 602/3 K; year 1
23 mm. *BMC*, p. 170, 67f.

Antioch

708 602–610 M; Phocas and Leontia stg.; date illeg.
26 mm. *BMC*, p. 175, 102ff.

HERACLIUS 610–641 A.D. (37)

Constantinople

709 *c.* 613–630 Two busts / VICTORIA AVGG
Cross potent
Æ. 4.44 gms. *BMC*, p. 187, 28–30

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***710**	*c.* 612–615	M; two figures, robed; years 3 (4), 5 29–33 mm. *BMC*, pp. 197ff., 116, 118, 122, 123, 134	6
***711**	629–640	M; two figures, Heraclius in cuirass; years 20 (4), 21 (3) 27–32 mm. *BMC*, pp. 202f., 145, 149, 153, 154, 158 etc.	12
712	615–630	M; three figures; year 11, and 2 illeg. 24–29 mm. *BMC*, pp. 206ff., 170ff.	3
713	639–641	M; three figures; year 30 22–25 mm. *BMC*, p. 209, 197	2
***714**	619–630	Λ; two figures; years 10, 20 26, 27 mm. *BMC*, p. 210, 202f.	2
***715**	619–630	K; years 10, 12 or 15, and 20 (2) 19–23 mm. *BMC*, p. 211, 204ff.	4
	Cyprus		
***716**	625/6	M, three figures; year 16 24 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 222, 269ff., PLATE X	1
	Nicomedia		
***717**	612/3	M, facing bust; year 3 31 mm. *cf. BMC*, p. 215, 233	1
718	612–616	M, two figures; years 3 (2), 6 29–31 mm. *BMC*, pp. 216f., 234ff., 237f., 243	3
	Cyzicus		
***719**	612/3	M, two figures 29 mm. *BMC*, p. 220, 263ff.	1
	Alexandria		
720	615–630	I B Cross on pyramid 20 mm. *BMC*, p. 226, 297	1

CONSTANS II 641–668 A.D. (28)

	Constantinople		
***721**	643/4	M, ANA NEOY, bust; year 3; A, Γ, Δ, Є 23–26 mm. *BMC*, pp. 266f., 93ff., PLATE X	9

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722	641–651	m, ANA NEO, standing fig. 25 mm. *BMC*, pp. 268ff., 101ff.	2
***723**	651–656	M, ANA NEO, standing fig.; years 11, 14, 20, 21 mm. *BMC*, pp. 270ff., 126ff.	5
***724**	655–658	M, two figures; years 15, 17 (3) 20–29 mm. *BMC*, pp. 277ff., 181ff.	6
***725**	659–664	M and Emperor / three figs. 23 mm. *BMC*, pp. 279ff., 199ff.	3
***726**	663–666	M and bust / three busts 22 mm. *BMC*, pp. 283ff., 233ff.	3

ANONYMOUS (2)

Constantinople

727	*c.* 989–1028	Bust of Christ / Four line inscription 34 mm. *Ath. Agora*, ii, pp. 109f., 1864	1
728	*c.* 1028–1031	Similar / Cross on steps, three line inscription 40 mm. *ibid.*, 1865	1

CONSTANTINE X 1059–1067 A.D. (1)

Constantinople

729	1059–1067	Two figs. / Christ stg. facing 28 mm. *BMC*, p. 517, 18ff.	1

JOHN II 1118–1143 A.D. (1)

Constantinople

730	1118–1143	Bust facing / Bust of Christ facing 16 mm. *BMC*, p. 565, 70f.	1

ISAAC II 1185–1195 A.D. (2)

Constantinople

***731**	1185–1195	Emperor stg. / Virgin r., orans 19 mm. Unpublished (?) PLATE X	1

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*732	1185–1195	Emperor and Virgin / Christ enthroned 20 mm. Goodacre, p. 288, 4, PLATE X	1

UNCERTAIN EMPEROR (1)

Constantinople

*733	*c.* 705–775	Bust facing / K; year 2 24 mm. *cf.* Sabatier, Pl. XI. 11, PLATE X	1

MEDIEVAL COINS

CYPRUS

Guido

734	1192–1194	Castle gate / Cross potent Denier Sch., p. 184	1

Henry II

*735	1285–1324	Cross potent / Lion rampant l. Denier Sch., Pl. VI. 23	3

Hugh IV

736	1324–1359	Similar / Similar Denier Sch., Pl. VI. 26	1

Pierre I

737	1359–1369	King enthroned / Cross of Jerusalem Gros Sch., p. 195	1

Pierre II

738	1369–1382	Similar / Similar Gros Sch., p. 197	1

Anonymous

739	*c.* 1359–1382	Lion of Cyprus / Cross of Jerusalem Denier Sch., Pl. VIII. 2	1

James I

*740	1382–1398	Lion of Cyprus / Cross potent Denier Sch., Pl. VII. 9	3

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	Uncertain		
741	*c.* Fourteenth Cent.	Lion of Cyprus / Cross potent Denier	5
	Janus		
742	1398–1432	Lion of Cyprus / Cross of Jerusalem Denier Sch., p. 198	2
743	1398–1432	Cross of Jerusalem / Lion of Cyprus Denier Sch., Pl. VII. 13	1
***744**	1398–1432	Cross potent / Lion of Cyprus Denier PLATE X	1
	James II		
745	1460–1473	Lion of Cyprus / Cross of Jerusalem Sesino Sch., Pl. VII. 24	11
	Uncertain		
746	XVth Cent.	Similar / Similar Denier	2

UNDER VENETIAN OCCUPATION

	Francesco Venier		
747	1554–1556	Cross / Lion of Cyprus Sesino Sch., Pl. VIII. 5	1
	Lorenzo Priuli		
***748**	1556–1559	Similar / Similar Sesino Sch., Pl. VIII. 6	1
	Gerolano Priuli		
749	1559–1567	Similar / Similar Sesino Sch., Pl. VIII. 7	4
	Uncertain		
750	XVIth Cent.	Similar / Similar	3

JERUSALEM

	Baldwin II–IV		
751	XIIth Cent.	Cross / Tower of David (?) Obol *cf.* Sch., Pl. III. 24	1

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RHODES

Pierre d'Aubusson

752 1467–1503 Cross ancree / St. John the Baptist 1
Denier Sch., Pl. X. 24

VENICE

Uncertain

***753** *c.* 1490–1570 Cross ornamented with pellets 1
/ Lion of St. Mark
Sch., Pl. XVIII. 11

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COMMENTARY ON THE COINS

TIME of EUAGORAS I, c. 411–374/3 B.C.[1]

In 411 B.C. Euagoras of the Teucrid family succeeded in reclaiming Salamis and the throne of his fathers which had fallen into Phoenician hands. In the following years, with the assistance of Athens, he was able to conquer most of the island. A Hellenophile, he introduced the Greek alphabet to Cyprus and encouraged Greek artists and writers at his court.

1. Circular shield, wreath on boss; in centre, Ꝑ (?).

Rev.: Lion's scalp; below, API

The only published example of these coins known to the writer is in Imhoof-Blumer's *Monnaies grecques* (p. 300, 155) where it is attributed to Samos. Another specimen from the Newell Collection at the American Numismatic Society is here reproduced, PLATE I, A. Imhoof-Blumer interpreted the API below the lion's scalp as an abbreviation of APIΣTOMA (XOϚ) found on another Samian bronze (*ibid.* No. 155), *obv.*: Hera head between Σ and A *rev.*: Lion's scalp. Finding two of these rare coins at Curium casts some doubt on the attribution. On Imhoof's coin and those from the excavations (entirely illegible) the device in the centre of the wreath cannot be read. On the ANS coin it is blurred, but seems to be Ꝑ (the letters of the reverse in monogram form). The practice of inscribing the king's name on both obverse and reverse is somewhat uncommon, but was followed in Cyprus as at Marium for Stasioikos I, second half of the fifth century (*BMC Cyprus*, p. 32, 1f.) for Stasioikos II, *c.* 315–312 (*ibid.* p. 33, 4); and at Paphos for Timocharis (?) *c.* 385 B.C. (*ibid.* p. 43, 45).

[1] The historical material on the early rulers of Cyprus included here is largely drawn from Sir George Hill's *History of Cyprus*, vol. i. pp. 126ff. *Isocrates Cyprian Orations*, E. S. Forester edition, Oxford 1912, is the best source for Euagoras I. Diodorus, books xiv ff. *passim*, also covers this reign as well as that of Euagoras II and contains further references to Cyprus down to the time of Antigonus I. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaidie* has been consulted both for earlier and later periods.

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The find spot suggests the coins originated in the island, possibly at Curium and the type that they are related to a known silver issue from the time of Euagoras I. Hill noted "it is possible that Euagoras marked his conquest of some places in Cyprus [including Curium] by issuing coins there." (*H. of C.* p. 134, note 3.) The Curium coins referred to are of silver, a stater: *obv.*: Heracles strangling lion; *rev.*: Victorious Athena seated on prow with inscription "*King A ri*" in the Cypriote syllabary and four smaller coins (*BMC Cyprus*, p. xliii). Babelon (*Perses Achémenides*, pp. cxxxviii and 107) attributed the stater to Aristochos of Curium, a contemporary of Euagoras I. Hill (*op. cit.*) thought it more probable that the *A ri* referred to the Athenian Aristophanes, son of Nicophemos, who, Babelon also admits, may have become king in recognition of the important political role he played and of the immense fortune he spent in the service of Euagoras and the Greeks in Cyprus. If the coin is attributed to the latter, it should be dated between 390, when Aristophanes was still actively assisting in the conquest of the island, and 386 when he was put to death.

The types on the bronze echo those on the stater. The lion's scalp is a reference to Heracles (the dominant figure on the coinage of Euagoras); the wreathed shield,[2] to a victory. The Cypriote inscription on the silver and the Greek on the bronze is no bar to their being contemporary. On coins of Euagoras himself at Salamis (*BMC Cyprus*, p. 57, 55) Greek letters appear side by side with Cypriote signs in the same inscription.

2. Head of Apollo r., wearing short hair bound with taenia.
Rev.: Forepart of stag r., head turned back; in l. field, A border of dots.

3. Head of Apollo r., laur. (?), wearing long hair; border of dots.
Rev.: Similar; A in l. field.

These two denominations of a single is sue were found in the same stratum that produced coin No. 1. Although there are a number of specimens, on few are any details clear. They are not much worn, but badly corroded, swollen and split. The style, difficult (or impos-

[2] The shape of this shield and those held by Curium terracotta horsemen of fourth century is the same. See J. and S. Young, *Terracotta, Figurines from Kurion in Cyprus*, Philadelphia, 1955, p. 221, fig. C.

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sible) to judge on such poorly preserved pieces, seems consistent wit the first half on the fourth century and like the types suggestive c Ionia rather than Cyprus, the work possibly of a Greek artist brough in by Euagoras. The dotted border, however, is characteristicall Cypriote. The severe, compact head of No. 2 may be compared t the Apollo on fifth-century Colophonian silver (*BMC Ionia*, Pl. VII 1). On the somewhat later bronze of the same city the head, as her is bound by a taenia. The smaller head, No. 3, with long hair is para leled by the corresponding "half" at Colophon. The stag with reverte head is reminiscent of Ephesus. Yet the types are eminently appr priate to Curium, for attached to the well-known sanctuary of Apoll Hylates was a refuge for deer (Aelian, *NA*, XI, 7). The fragmentar list of known kings of Curium offers few clues for interpreting the on these coins as a successor to the conjectured Aristophanes. Ar stochos mentioned above is a possibility.

EUAGORAS II, *c.* 368–351 B.C.

On the death of Euagoras I, a son, Nicocles, reigned briefly an issued few coins. His successor, Euagoras II, was possibly a brothe possibly a son. The date of the accession of the second Euagoras i uncertain. Babelon puts it in 368, Hill in 361 B.C. The earlier date i here chosen as more consistent with the large number of his coin found at Curium. In *c.* 351/0 Euagoras lost his throne and was expelle from Cyprus, but returned, was taken prisoner and executed some time after 346.

4. Head of Apollo three-quarters l., laur., draped.
Rev.: Lyre; EYA in l. field.

Hill (*NC*, 1926, p. 127) attributed these coins to Euagoras II a Salamis. They are no doubt coins of this king, but that they wer struck at Salamis is less likely. That nineteen fourth-century coins c a single type from Salamis should turn up at Curium and only eigh coins from near-by Paphos for the whole pre-Alexandrian period i improbable. The large number of coins suggests a local mint, and th types, appropriately, suggest a place sacred to Apollo. In the time c Euagoras I, Curium's relation to Salamis was that of a vassal kingdo to which the king of Salamis could grant the right of coinage (se

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above). There is no reason to believe that in the time of Euagoras II it was more independent. Euagoras II may well have struck coins there in his own name rather than delegate the right to an unknown local dynast.

5. Head of Apollo three-quarters l., laur.

Rev.: Mare r. suckling foal l., above EYA (illegible).

These coins and No. 4 are probably part of the same issue, No. 4 being the half, No. 5, the unit. None of the seventeen coins identified was legible. Fortunately, an example in the British Museum is well preserved and is here reproduced, PLATE I, B.[3] That the horse played an important part in the life of Curium, especially in the worship of Apollo, can be inferred from the hundreds of terracotta horsemen found at Curium. These were "the standard dedications to Apollo" from the sixth to the third centuries B.C. (Young, *op. cit.*, p. 225).

The facing head of Apollo on these two coins is too suggestive of the similar head on a diobol of Cyprus attributed to Pasicrates of Soli (Babelon, *P.A.*, pp. cli and 113; Hill, *BMC Cyprus*, p. 66, here PLATE I, C) to be passed over without comment. The diobol, like No. 4, has pure Apollo types, a head similar to that on the bronze, and on the reverse a tripod and the inscription BA/ΓA/ΣI. A contemporary of Pasicrates of Soli was Pasicrates of Curium. Both went with Alexander to Tyre in 332. Babelon conjectures they may have been the same person. Hill, however, citing a passage in Arrian (*Anab.* ii, 22, 2) where Pasicrates of Curium without the title βαριλεύς is included among the Cypriote dynasts assisting at the siege of Tyre concluded that only Pasicrates of Soli was a king (*BMC Cyprus*, p. xxv). If, as the excavation coins seem to show, there was a mint at Curium striking coins with types suggestive of the diobol shortly before the time of Pasicrates, it is logical to attribute these coins to the same mint and explain Arrian's omission of the title, as others have done, to exigencies of literary style.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, 332–323 B.C.

After the battle of Issus and before pursuing Darius to the East, Alexander decided to conquer Tyre. In this, he had the assistance of

[3] I am indebted to Mr. G. K. Jenkins for his kindness in sending the cast.

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the free kings of Cyprus. Among them, as we have seen, was Pasicrates of Curium whose ships were driven ashore and broken up. If he struck silver at Curium as suggested above, then on his return the mint may again have been active, now striking bronzes of Alexander types. For the cities of Cyprus who came to the aid of Alexander were probably granted autonomy as were those on the mainland which opened their gates to him. And "those where a mint had previously existed were allowed to continue striking coins with the proviso that the issues henceforth conform in weights and denominations with the regular coinage of the Empire." (Newell, *NC*, 1915, pp., 298f.).

Alexanders for the years *c.* 332–320 from the mints of Marion, Citium, Salamis and Paphos have been identified (Newell, *NC*, 1915, pp. 294ff.). From the three latter, bronzes as well as silver are known. The excavation coins suggest that possibly the minor mint at Curium also stuck bronzes of Alexander types.

6. Any identification of this half of a plated Alexander tetradrachm not based on identical dies is impossible.

7, 8, 9. Head of youthful Heracles r. in lion's scalp.
Rev.: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Bow in case above, club, grip l. below; below all, laurel branch to l.
No. 7, double, 19–21 mm., wgt. 9.345 gms.
No. 8, unit, 15–18 mm., wgt. 3.70–5.63 (average 5 gms.; mean 4.67 gms.)
No. 9, half, 10–12 mm., wgt. 1.98 gms. (laurel branch not visible)

Only a few of these coins were weighed. The condition of the majority permits of no approximation of the weight.

The laurel branch is an appropriate emblem for this or any city of Apollo. It can be detected on twenty-one of the fifty-six bronze Alexanders from the excavations. Another twenty-one, where the symbol is obliterated, have a similar disposition of bow-case and club. This arrangement is characteristic of the Alexanders from Paphos; the die positions, → or ←, are also usual for that city. The symbol, laurel branch, in almost identical form appears on a series of tetradrachms from Paphos (Newell, *NC*, 1915, p. 318, 7 and J. M. F. May, *NC*, 1952, p. 5, V). At New Paphos, as well as at Curium, there was a sanctuary of Apollo Hylates. But the fact that twenty-one coins with

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the symbol, laurel branch were found in the excavations and only two with 𐤐, the certain mint mark of Paphos, leads me to attribute the variety with laurel branch to Curium, possibly as a branch of the Paphos mint.

ANTIGONUS I, 323–301 B.C.
and DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES 306–295 B.C.

After the death of Alexander, the rich island of Cyprus, important alike to Antigonus in Asia Minor and to Ptolemy in Egypt, was a prize just beyond the grasp of either and consequently a source of constant strife between them. After Perdiccas's death in 321, Antipater and Antigonus enjoyed virtual control of the Aegean. Later, in 316, with the execution of Eumenes, Antigonus became the strongest of all claimants to the succession of Alexander. Yet in Cyprus itself Ptolemy was steadily increasing his power. In 321 B.C. the kings of Salamis, Paphos, Soli and Amathus were his allies and in the following years other cities were taken by siege or otherwise brought over to his side. By 316/315 (Hill, *H. of C.* pp. 158ff.), or more probably later in *c.* 312 (Svoronos, iv, p. 17), Ptolemy's position was such that he could appoint Nicocreon strategos of Cyprus and receiver of all revenues and, at the same time, install his brother Menelaus as commander of the troops. Finally in a punitive campaign, 311/310, by the murder of Pumitheon of Citium and with Nicocles of Paphos (Diodorus, XX, 21), or as Hill preferred (*op. cit.* p. 160) Nicocreon of Salamis, driven to suicide, Ptolemy achieved complete mastery of Cyprus. His conquest was short lived. In 306 B.C. Demetrius, at his father's order, attacked Ptolemy, routed him in a disastrous sea battle off Salamis and restored the island to Antigonus. The latter held it until his death in 301. Demetrius inherited it, but in 295 B.C. Cyprus was reconquered and again became part of the Ptolemaic kingdom.

During the years of disputed control of Cyprus, *c.* 320–311, while some local dynasts issued coins with their own names and types,[4] the

[4] Nicocreon (*BMC Cyprus*, p. 64–85) and Menelaus, gold only, at Salamis, (*ibid.* p. cxiii, 76). Nicocles at Paphos (*BMC Cyprus*, p. lxxix, 7); Eunostus at Soli (Mrs. Brett *Trans. Int. Num. Congress*, London, 1936, p. 26 and Newell *AJN*, xlvii, p. 69, no. 31); Pumitheon at Citium (*BMC Cyprus*, pp. 21 f., 75 A).

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mints at Salamis, from 320–300, and at Citium, for sometime after 320, continued to strike gold and silver Alexanders (Newell, *NC*, 1915, pp. 308f., 11–29, and 303, 11, 12). If after 320 the autonomy of these cities and their right to strike an independant coinage was in dispute, then inspite of Ptolemy's influence a certain control over the coinage seems to have been assumed by Antigonus. No change was made in the obverse of the Cypriote tetradrachms to conform with that introduced by Ptolemy in the coinage of Alexandria in 318 B.C. (B. Emmons, *ANSMN*, VI, 1954, p. 70). But in *c.* 316 (Newell, *C. of D. P.* pp. 18f.) a new type of small bronze, Macedonian shield with helmet on reverse (No. 15, PLATE I) was introduced at Salamis and superceded the conventional Alexander bronzes. These can with some certainty be attributed to Antigonus with his ostensible loyalty to Macedon. In about this same year at Tarsus where Antigonus was in control of the mint similar coins with identical symbol, the caduceus, were struck (H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, I, p. 41, Princeton, 1950). Coins of this type are commonly found in Asia Minor, almost never in Syria or Egypt. The repetition of the same magistrates' initials on both the silver and the bronze shows that at Salamis, if not elsewhere in Cyprus, Antigonus was in control of the mint.

The output of shields seems to have been discontinued after Ptolemy's conquest of the island in 311 and they were supplanted by bronzes inscribed ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ. When, however, the island was again in Antigonus's hands, the shields may have re-appeared from 306–301(?).

14. Macedonian shield, Gorgon's head on boss.
Rev.: Macedonian helmet; B A in upper field, caduceus and ♑ below.

15. Similar.
Rev.: Similar, but ♐ in lower r. field.

These coins were attributed by Newell (*C. of D. P.*, p. 18) to the mint at Salamis in the years *c.* 316–306 B.C. for the same magistrates' marks, ♑ and ♐, appear on gold and silver Alexanders struck at that mint and dated by Newell to those years (*NC*, 1915, pp. 309f.).

That the coins were introduced *c.* 316 B.C. seems reasonable. That they continued to be struck down to 306 is more doubtful. During the

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years 311–306 Ptolemy was issuing bronzes of similar value in his own name in Cyprus (Svoronos, ii, nos. 74–82) and, as the Curium finds Nos. 31–35 show, probably in sufficient quantity to supply the needs of the island. No bronze has been attributed to Cyprus for the period 306–301 B.C. when Antigonus was again in power and before Demetrius issued his own types.

It is possible that the coins with the monogram ⋔ were struck *c.* 316–312; ⋔ is known only on silver of the series dated 316–306. Those signed ⋲ may be a re-issue after 306. The monogram appears not only in the 316–306 series, but recurs later on tetradrachms of Demetrius from the years 300–295 B.C. (Newell, *C. of D. P.*, p. 24, 17). The number of coins identified with the monogram ⋔ suggests they were struck over a longer period than those with ⋲ .Whether the latter were a reissue after 306 is uncertain and that the shield type continued down to 300 is doubtful. The following type, No. 18, now generally dated from 300–295 B.C., may well have been introduced earlier, within a year or two after the battle of 306 it was designed to commemorate.

18. Youthful male head (Demetrius ?) r., wearing Corinthian helmet adorned with bull's horn.

Rev.: B A above prow r., beneath prow, ⋈.

These coins were attributed by Newell (*ibid.* p. 25, 20) to the mint at Salamis and to the years 300–295 B.C. In recognition of his victory over Ptolemy in 306, Demetrius received the title of King from his father, Antigonus; but it was not until after the latter's death in 301 that the son displayed his own name on the silver coinage and possibly not until then his portrait (?) on the bronze. One might even question whether he had any authority over the coinage during Antigonus's lifetime.

19. This coin with the preceding types and illegible monogram is a half. The denomination, not recorded for Salamis, is common at Tarsus (*ibid.* p. 48, 34 and p. 50, 40), possibly the source of our coin.

20. In his publication of this anepigraphic coin with types of anchor and bipennis, Hill (*NC*, 1926, p. 127) suggested it might date from the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes for whom the types are appropriate. Its usual provenance is Cyprus. The mint is not known.

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PTOLEMY I (SOTER), 323–285 B.C.

Ptolemy I ruled in Egypt nominally as satrap for Philip Aridaeus and Alexander IV until 311, and then independently. Cyprus was in his hands from 311–306, then lost to Antigonus. He recovered Cyprus in 295 from Demetrius and annexed it firmly to Egypt. In 285, he abdicated in favor of his son, Ptolemy II.

In Cyprus, between 311 and 306 B.C., Ptolemy I struck small bronzes of local character (Nos. 31–35). After 295, he again struck small bronzes (Nos. 37–40), now of a more general type, the head of Alexander on the obverse. The latter are included among Sv. 101–180 described as struck in Egypt, some possibly elsewhere, and destined for foreign trade, but are attributed by Poole and Mrs. Brett to Cyprus (Poole, *BMC Ptolemies*, p. 8, and Mrs. Brett, *Int. Num. Congress*, London, 1936, p. 26, note 2). Svoronos attributed no coins of Ptolemy I to Cyprus in years 295–285. Yet to Ptolemy II in Cyprus from the first year of his reign, he ascribed an abundant series of coins in all three metals (Sv. 547–602), implying the existence of a flourishing Cypriote mint before the second Ptolemy came to the throne. The Curium coins seem to show that Ptolemy I had established such a mint, probably at Paphos.

29. Alexander's head r. in elephant's scalp.

Rev.: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Athena fighting r.; symbol in r. field obscure.

This plated drachm, attributed to the mint at Alexandria by Svoronos (Sv. iv, p. 11), has now been convincingly dated 312–305 B.C. by Brooks Emmons (*ANSMN*, VI, 1954, p. 70). Although plated the coin has the appearance of an official issue and supports Miss Emmons' theory that Ptolemy I experienced a great shortage of silver.

31–34. Head of Aphrodite r. wearing ornamented stephanos.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Eagle l. on thunderbolt.

These coins as well as No. 35 are from Cyprus in the years 311–306.

No. 31 is without monogram. No. 32, only partially legible, may correspond to Sv. 76. No. 33, somewhat vague, seems a new variety with ⋈ (?). No. 34 should come at the beginning of the series, the wreath emblematic of Ptolemy's conquest of the island in 311 B.C.

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35. Head of Aphrodite r., hair bound by taenia.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕ Eagle l. on thunderbolt; wreath in field.

Poole (*BMC Ptolemies*, p. 7) attributed Nos. 31–34 to Paphos and No. 35 tentatively to Salamis, influenced no doubt by the types of Aphrodite heads which recall those on the corresponding city coinages. An alternative suggestion, that the coins are two denominations of a single mint, rather than two coinages, is implied by Svoronos in assigning both types to Cyprus, not specifying a mint. The Paphian type on the larger denomination argues vaguely for Paphos as the mint of origin. Although it is possible that the mint at Salamis struck in turn coins for Antigonus, Ptolemy, Antigonus again and Demetrius, it seems to the writer more likely that Ptolemy I used only the mint at Paphos for bronze, while probably the output of tetradrachms (see above p. 84) continued at Salamis.

37–39. Head of Alexander r., wearing horned diadem.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt; in l. field aplustre or other symbol.

Poole places these in Cyprus early in the interval, 295–285 B.C., the very earliest being those with the aplustre which Mrs. Brett points out (*op. cit.*) is symbolic of Ptolemy's re-conquest of Cyprus.

The remaining coins of Ptolemy I, from the excavations, Nos. 41–49, are included among those attributed by Svoronos to Egypt and destined for local use. All bear the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ omitted on the earlier Cypriote coins.

41–43. Head of Zeus r., laur.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Eagle stg. l. on thunderbolt; two monograms in l. field.

In each case, the upper monogram is 𐤀, the lower varies.

44–46. The next lower denomination of this class has head of Alexander in elephant's scalp, the reverse as on Nos. 41–43, but with single monogram in field, Σ, 𐤌 and 𐤗.

47, 48. These, the smallest denomination, resemble Nos. 37–39 with Alexander's head wearing horned diadem; the reverse inscription reads ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and there is a single magistrate's mark in l. field, 𐤄 and Σ (the latter coin not known to Svoronos).

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Perhaps for a short time after 295 B.C., Ptolemy contented himself with striking only small bronze in Cyprus, Nos. 37–39. These minor pieces are clearly inadequate to fill the needs of an area formerly issuing gold and silver in considerable quantities. With Ptolemy firmly intrenched in Cyprus and the threat of re-conquest by Demetrius minimal, it must have seemed more expedient to strike coins in Cyprus than to ship specie from Egypt. The new mint, or expansion of the old, would have followed the Egyptian model and possibly entailed the transfer of officials and workmen from Alexandria. The output of workmen trained at Alexandria would be stylistically indistinguishable from the product of the mother mint.

A good criterion for dividing the Cypriote issues, if any, from the Egyptian would be provenance. The excavation coins provide this evidence, but perhaps on too small a scale to be conclusive. Svoronos recorded a long series of 28 mm. bronzes all of similar type and style. These he divided into two groups: one with A as the constant upper letter and varying monograms below (Sv. 269–288), the other, a somewhat smaller group with 𐤀 in the upper place (Sv. 289–303). All the Curium coins of this denomination belong to the second group. The signatures on all the small Curium pieces for the post-295 B.C. period (Nos. 37–39 and 44–46 with 𐤉 or Χ, ΔΙ, Σ, 𐤌 and 𐤐) recur in combination with 𐤀 (Sv. 303, 291, 300, 299 and 293). Of these ΔΙ and 𐤌 as well as ΤΙ (Sv. 135 and 226) on the small bronze are combined only with 𐤀 on the larger, never with A. 𐤐 common with 𐤀 is less helpful to our argument for it is also known on a single specimen with A. It is reasonable to conclude that the series of larger bronze with 𐤀 is Cypriote and that the smaller denominations with heads of Alexander and monograms recurring with 𐤀 are also Cypriote; finally, the coincidence is too striking to be ignored, 𐤀 may be read as Paphos and A as Alexandria.

49. Head of Ptolemy Soter r. diademed.

Rev.: Eagle stg.l.; illegible.

When legible, this coin has in the field on the reverse, either a dolphin or Σ and dolphin. Since Σ is known combined both with A and with 𐤀 and a dolphin is no more characteristic of an island than a port, only on grounds of provenance can this small coin be attributed to Cyprus.

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PTOLEMY II (PHILADELPHUS), 285–246 B.C.

Ptolemy II succeeded to the throne in 285 B.C. In Cyprus, from the first year of his reign, Svoronos ascribes to him a rich series of dated coins, which came to an end in 266 B.C., the year Υ.

In the same year, 266/5, Tyre adopted a new system for dating its coinage. That mint's output which had been largely bronze before 266, after 266 was predominantly silver. The change is explained as Tyre's assuming the production of a currency formerly supplied by Cyprus, and which the island was no longer in a position to strike (Sv. iv, p. 104).

The occasion for closing the Cyprus mint, according to Svoronos (Sv. iv, p. 102) was Ptolemy's loss of the battle of Cos to Antigonus Gonatas and with it perhaps Cyprus as well. This hypothesis based on the slender evidence of the coincidence of dates in the closing and opening of two mints has understandably been given little credence. The Curium coins, however, both local and imported pieces, do much to confirm it. From the reign of no other Ptolemy did the excavations produce so many imported coins. These can be accounted for as change brought in by troops coming from Egypt and Tyre to re-inforce Cyprus, possibly the base for mustering the fleet against Gonatas as it was also conjectured to be in the third Syrian War (Hill, *H. of C.* i, p. 186). The majority of the imports are dated before 266, many from about that year. The trident countermark, common on the local coins (18 of our 36 are so marked) suggests a change in policy or of authority at the mint, probably the latter. Gonatas chose the trident, emblem of naval supremacy, as a symbol on tetradrachms which Imhoof-Blumer (*MG.* pp. 123–129) believed were struck in commemoration of his victory in the battle of Cos. If, as Svoronos suggested and Regling concurred, Cyprus fell to Gonatas as a result of that battle, the trident would have been an appropriate countermark to indicate his overlordship of the island gained by victory at sea.[5] It is not within the competence of the writer nor within the scope of this paper to elaborate on Svoronos' surmise that the cause of the closing

[5] Countermarking only the Ptolemaic bronze seems normal practice. After his conquest of Egypt in 171/170 B.C., Antiochus IV counterstamped only the bronze with the Seleucid anchor. Copper, the "demotisches Geld" as Giesecke calls it, was handled by the entire populace and a better propaganda medium than silver.

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of the Cyprus mint in *c.* 265 B.C. was Ptolemy's loss of the battle of Cos[6] beyond giving the relevant evidence of the coins and the countermarks.

50–56. Head of Alexander r. wearing elephant's scalp (Nos. 50, 53–56) or head of Ammon (Nos. 51, 52).

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Eagle l. on thunderbolt; between legs, a letter indicating date.

These coins were struck in Egypt and dated on an era based on the deification of Arsinoë, 271/70 B.C. Six of the coins, Nos. 50–52, are from 267/6 and 266/5, the time of the crisis in Cyprus, the other five, probably several years later. No. 53 is catalogued as Θ, 263/2, but may, like Nos. 54 and 55, be Ο, 256/5 B.C. It has not been possible to check coins identified some years ago. The Ο on both specimens of No. 56 has been verified. Svoronos noted the marks are practically indistinguishable.

57–65. Head of Zeus r., laur.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Eagle with open wings l. on thunderbolt; in l. field oval shield, Σ above, sometimes monogram below; monogram or, more usually, date, between legs.

Svoronos attributes these coins, together with a smaller denomination No. 66, 67, to Cyprus. The dates denote regnal years. Σ was

[6] That the battle of Cos took place in the Chremonidean War (267–261 ?) is the opinion of Wilamowitz (*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger*. 176, 1914, p. 87) who dates it 265–260 B.C., W. Otto (*ibid.* p. 653) who agrees and E. Bikerman (*Revue des Études anciennes*, 40, 1938, pp. 369ff.) proposing the date 263–261. The coins support this dating rather than the later years of 258 (Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vii, (1928) pp. 862f.) and 256 B.C. (W. Peremans, *Rev. belge*, 12, (1933) pp. 50ff.)

If Cyprus was indeed lost to Antigonus there is no corroborating evidence unless one accepts the omission of Cyprus in Theocritus's enumeration of the territories of Ptolemy II (Idyll xvii, Encomium of Ptolemy). This paucity of evidence leads one to believe any forfeiture of the island was brief. Certainly it must have been returned to Egypt during this reign. In the Adulis inscription (*CIG* 5127, Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, vol. i, p. 178, 1, Paris, 1903) Cyprus is listed among the lands inherited by Ptolemy III from his father. The three, possibly four, Egyptian coins from the year 256/5 found at Curium (Nos. 54–56) suggest the island was restored to Egypt shortly after that date, perhaps in the peace between Ptolemy II and Antigonus of 255 or 253 (dates proposed by Bengston, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1950, p. 383 and Bikerman, *Revue des études anciennes*, 40, 1938, pp. 369f.). It seems much less probable that Cyprus remained out of Egyptian hands until 247 B.C. (Sv. iv, p. 102).

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ingeniously read as "son of Soter," but the same monogram on an Alexander stater and drachm of Teos (M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, *Greek Coins in the Yale Collection, IV: A Hoard of Alexander Drachms*, Yale Un. Press, 1955, p. 18) makes it probable that this too is a magistrate's mark. The mark ⋔ on No. 65 Svoronos equated with ⋔ on the silver and suggested (on one example) that it may be the year T (Sv. ii, p. 86). His argument is not convincing, but that they come late in the series and possibly from the year T, a comparison of Nos. 65 and 59, year Δ, on PLATE II will show. The latter was much worn when countermarked, the former fresh, the fine lines of the feathers plainly visible between the prongs of the trident. The other examples of No. 65 also show little wear before counterstamping. Coins of this type are recorded for the years Π, P and Y; Σ and T, 268–266 B.C., remain the only years to which a group late in the series and before 266/5 (year of probable transfer of the mint to Tyre) can be assigned. Sv. 552 and 553 with ⋔ and ⋔ are large issues, consistent with preparations for war.

The dating of No. 65 to the year T, 267/6, is not certain. Another possibility still later in the series and also suggested by Svoronos (Sv. ii, pp. 83, 86), is that ⋔ and ⋔ be read as Φ, the year 265/4. The triangular Φ is not uncommon in Cypriote inscriptions.[7] This pushes forward the closing of the Cyprus mint by one year, so that is no longer synchronizes perfectly with the new system of dating and the steady production of silver initiated at Tyre in 266/5 B.C. For that year at Tyre only two tetradrachms are recorded, a tentative beginning for the series. In the following year 265/4, the output was more normal and the 264/3 and 262/1 issues were large. In these last years, i. e. from 264 on, it seems quite certain no coins were being struck in Cyprus. This makes the change from Cyprus to Tyre as the source for a large part of the non-Alexandrian silver in the reign of Ptolemy II less abrupt, but no less real.

69–71. Head of Alexander wearing elephant's scalp.

Rev:. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in l. field, two or three monograms.

[7] See *e.g.*, the "Arsinoës Philadelphou" inscription from Hyalousa in the Carpass, Paul Perdrizet, *BCH* 20 (1896) p. 359.

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These coins are included in Svoronos' group 338–387, assigned to Egypt and to the years 285–271 B.C., before the deification of Arsinoë and before the dated coinage, Nos. 50–56 above. Regling (Sv. iv, p. 464) isolated certain coins as incompatible with that group as a whole. Among the coins rejected by him are our Nos. 69, 70 and 71. He did not suggest they might be Cypriote. But there are reasons besides the fact that they were found at Curium for so classifying them. On the basis of KI on coins No. 71, Poole (*BMC Ptolemies*, p. 18, 26) attributed them to Citium, together with the corresponding silver. The class of large bronze, here represented by Nos. 58–66, is notably lacking in the smaller 20 mm. size. Rare dated specimens are known for only three of its twenty years' duration, and there are few undated pieces, Nos. 67, 68. Adding Nos. 69–71 to the series makes a more normal proportion between the two denominations and the recurrence of XAP in monogram on both groups provides a link between them.[8]

73–75. The club as symbol places these coins in Tyre; they are dated before 266 B.C. The Curium pieces present no new evidence on whether the letters above the club, Π and Σ, on Nos. 74, 75 are dates and if so are to be reckoned on the era of Tyre or as regnal years (see Sv. iv, pp. 106f. and 467f.). The letter on No. 75 seems, like Svoronos' illustration (Pl. XIX, 7), to be Σ not Ɪ.

76. Also from Tyre, this coin is dated 271–246 by Svoronos, but is assigned to the reign of Ptolemy III by Poole (*BMC*, p. 53, 67).

77–79. Svoronos allotted these undated coins with the symbol cornucopiae to Sidon in the years *c.* 271–246 B.C., and Poole, to Ptolemy III at an uncertain mint (*BMC*, p. 54, 84). Finding the coins at Curi-

[8] In re-attribution I suggest that Sv. 366 and 377–379 be returned to Citium as Poole proposed. Sv. 362, tetradrachms with EY/X, and Sv. 363, with similar monograms, probably come from the mint at Paphos; of the latter No. 69 here and No. 549 from Soli (Westholm, *T. of Soli*, p. 113) are examples found in Cyprus. To Paphos also are to be ascribed Sv. 367 and 368, gold and silver with ΣT/𐤐, and related to Sv. 556, 557 (No. 58) with 𐤐 between the eagle's legs. To Paphos or Citium the single tetradrachm, Sv. 369, with ΣT/X. Included among Regling's rejects are coins with the signature ΔI. One specimen of Sv. 381 with ear of wheat and ΔI has been countermarked with the trident, a characteristic Cypriote mark of this period as the catalogue shows. This is very slight evidence on which to base an attribution, but it quite possibly indicates that these coins, too, belong to the island, perhaps to Salamis.

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um suggests they come from a Cyprus mint, but a lack of statigraphical evidence leaves them uncertainly assigned to the last years of Ptolemy II or early in the reign of Ptolemy III.

PTOLEMY III (EUERGETES), 246–221 B.C.

Coins of Ptolemy III from Cyprus of the well-known type, 80–82, are not rare, yet only five examples turned up at Curium. Even if we add to these the three coins, 77–79, it is difficult to account for the small number of coins from this reign in proportion to the quantities found for Ptolemy II and Ptolemy IV.

80–82. Head of Zeus Ammon r.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ statue of the Paphian Aphrodite stg. facing on base, wears polos and long chiton.

These coins are now generally attributed to Cyprus, a well-attested finding place for them (Imhoof-Blumer, *Nomisma*, viii, p. 12; Babelon, I. W., *RN*, 1898, p. 203, nos. 4836/7; *BMC Cyprus*, p. lxxxi). The reverse type is accepted as a cultus statue of Aphrodite. On Paphian coins of the fourth century (Nos. 23–25) and on early coins of Ptolemy I (Nos. 31–34) Aphrodite wears a similar high crown. The figure on these coins evidently represents the same goddess.

Svoronos' surmise (Sv. iv, p. 178) that the coins originated in the Peloponessus is not supported by finds from the excavations at Corinth (Edwards, *Corinth*, iv, *Coins*, p. 73), where all of the sixteen coins from this reign are of traditional types.

The standing figure on this bronze is very similar to a symbol found on contemporary Rhodian tetradrachms (*BMC Caria*, Pl. XXXVIII, 3). The similarity has been variously explained or explained away. Imhoof-Blumer thought the resemblance merely that of two figures represented in the same hieratic convention (*Nomisma*, viii, p. 12). If the symbol on the tetradrachms is more than a coincidence, it may have been chosen, as Svoronos suggested (Sv. iv, p. 199), in grateful recognition of Ptolemy's gift of a thousand talents of bronze to Rhodes after the devastating earthquake of 225 B.C. (Polybius, V, 89). The copper coins constituting the gift can then be assumed to be of this type and quite logically to have been shipped from Cyprus with its copper mines, a convenient source of supply.

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PTOLEMY IV (PHILOPATER), 221–204 B.C.

85. Head of Arsinoë III r., wearing stephane.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Double cornucopiae.

These coins have long been attributed to Cyprus. All 42 of the Curium specimens and also the two found at Soli (Westholm, pp. 110 and 113, nos. 487, 548) have the double cornucopiae of Sv. 1160. On worn examples it is difficult to distinguish between the double and single cornucopiae, but on none of our pieces can the single be definitely identified. The writer has a coin of this type, with single cornucopiae, found at Lapethos, indicating probably that the two varieties were struck at different mints in Cyprus. The flans of these small pieces are of two kinds, thick beveled cast flans and those with vertical edges, neatly cut from a cylindrical ingot. The Curium coins are divided about two-thirds cast and one-third cut.

86. This coin of conventional types, but with K on the obverse, was assigned by Poole (*BMC Ptolemies*, p. 62, 4, 8) to Cyprus and by Svoronos (Sv. iv, p. 229) to Crete. The latter attribution Regling was reluctant to accept, saying that only knowledge of provenance would determine the mint. This single example is slight evidence, but supports Poole's identification. The K alone on this example presents no difficulties of interpretation, but, as Svoronos points out, it is not easy to resolve ℞ on similar pieces into KYΠP.

PTOLEMY V (EPIPHANES), 203–181 B.C.

In 203 B.C., after some delay, the death of the dissolute Ptolemy IV and his queen Arsinoë III was announced by the king's ministers. These men then became regents for the infant Ptolemy V and under their mismanagement much of the kingdom was lost, notably Phoenicia and Palestine.

A long series of gold and silver from various Cyprus mints was issued under Ptolemy V, apparently filling not only the quota for Cyprus, but for the lost Phoenician mints as well. With the gold and silver Svoronos cites only a single bronze piece in his catalogue, but the following coins may also date from this reign in Cyprus.

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87–89. Head of Zeus Ammon r.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Eagle with closed wings standing l. on thunderbolt, lotus in I. field.

Coins of this character were attributed by Poole to Ptolemy V, but nowhere in Svoronos' catalogue was I able to find the examples from the British Museum collection recorded. Svoronos listed similar coins under Ptolemy II at an uncertain mint. (Sv. 841–843). Regling pointed out that this attribution was doubtful because they could be connected with no silver or gold issue of that reign. That Svoronos himself was undecided is suggested by his associating them with similar coins of Ptolemy VI (our Nos. 95, 96; Sv. 1407, 1408) referring for comparison to both Pl. XLVIII illustrating 1407, 1408 and to Pl. XXIV on which his 841–843 appear. Such close simularity is to be expected between coins struck in successive reigns, not between coins separated by a hundred-year interval. Other coins of the same type and symbol appear in the reign of Ptolemy VIII, Sv. 1636–1639. The groups are distinguished by a progressive deterioration in style.

Nos. 87–89 belong to the first of the three groups. They are carefully and rather delicately engraved and struck on reasonably circular flans. The head of Zeus is drawn with a sure hand, the hair and beard controlled. The detail of the eagle is painstaking; the leg feathers do not reach the foot. The eagles on the bronze resemble those on Ptolemy V's silver from Paphos, especially those signed by Polycrates early in the reign, and it is to that reign in Cyprus (Salamis?) that Poole assigns the coins (*BMC*, p. 70, 28ff.). The lotus on this early group is shown with open petals; on the later coins it is a half-open bud.

PTOLEMY VI (*PHILOMETOR*), 181–146 B.C.

92, 93. Head of Zeus Ammon r.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΣΩΕ Eagle with closed wings; in l. field, lotus; Σ or ΣΕ between legs.

The Σ is not clear, but has precisely the form of that shown on *BMC* pl. XX, 8 to which Svoronos refers.

Svoronos's tentative identification of Σ (No. 92) and ΣΕ (No. 93) with the name Seleucus Bithys, nauarch and high priest of Cyprus (Sv. iv, p. 285) finds support in the Curium finds. Svoronos, Regling

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and Poole agree that the numerous similar coins with the lotus, but with EYA between the eagle's legs are from Egypt, under the regency of Eulaeus. Nos. 92 and 93 are recorded from single specimens, the first in the British Museum (*BMC Ptolemies*, p. 87, 73) and No. 93 in Berlin, yet it is these rare varieties that turn up at Curium and none of the commoner, undoubtedly Egyptian pieces.

95, 96. These coins are of the preceding type with lotus in field, but without letters between the eagle's legs. They are not easily confused with Nos. 87–89, but more nearly resemble No. 107, here listed under Ptolemy VIII. As is expected with excavation coins, the Curium coins of all groups show wear and erosion. Few specimens were on hand at one time for comparative examination, consequently, the number assigned to each group of these small coins with lotus can be only approximate.

99. Head of youthful Dionysus r., bound with ivy, thyrsus over shoulder.

Rev.: Illegible. Eagle l, with open wing; symbol illegible.

This coin is very similar to Svoronos' 1800β, Pl. LVI, 8, listed under Ptolemy VI. Poole (*BMC Ptolemies*, p. 99, 135) assigned it to Ptolemy VIII and Regling suggested the head might be a portrait of young Ptolemy IX. To whatever reign it is assigned, there is at least unanimity on its Cypriote origin.

PTOLEMY VIII (EUERGETES II), 170–116 B.C.

Ptomely VIII although dating his reign from 170 B.C. did not really become king until 146, when he returned from Cyrene and succeeded his murdered nephew Ptolemy VII in Egypt.

101–105. These coins are of the traditional types with the addition of a date above the lotus in l. field. The series is attributed to Cyprus and dated, with some gaps, from 144–129 B.C.

106. Similar to the above, but with sceptre held in the eagle's wing, the coin is undated, as is No. 107. Both are probably from the Paphos mint.

107. Svoronos lists these coins under both Ptolemy VIII (Sv. 1639) and Ptolemy X (Sv. 1705). All are here given to Ptolemy VIII.

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108. A crested helmet in the l. field is the distinguishing mark of these bronzes.

In his catalogue, Svoronos listed Nos. 106, 107 and 108 under Egypt, but in his text (Sv.iv, pp. 315f.) placed them in Cyprus and in the years immediately after 129 B.C., when the dated series (Nos.101–105) came to an end. The crested helmet, cap with strings and star are Cypriote symbols appearing at various times on coins of Paphos, Salamis and Citium, and after the reign of Ptolemy VIII, they are the usual symbols usurping the place of the lotus.

109. This coin, again of the usual types, is the smallest denomination of a series inscribed ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ assigned to Cyprus and dated by Svoronos to the last four years of the reign of Ptolemy VIII.

PTOLEMY X (SOTER II, LATHYRUS), 116–80 B.C.
PTOLEMY XI (ALEXANDER I), 114–88 B.C.

Ptolemy VIII left the regency to his widow, Cleopatra III. She preferred the younger prince, Alexander, as colleague, but could secure for him only the governorship of Cyprus. In 114, however, he proclaimed himself king and reckoned his regnal years from that date. Ptolemy X, Soter II, reckoned his from 116 B.C. when he was called to Egypt at the death of his father. In 108/107, Cleopatra caused Soter II to flee from Egypt and seek refuge in Cyprus, while Ptolemy XI joined his mother in Egypt. In 88 B.C., Alexander died and Soter II, returning to Egypt, reigned alone until his death in 80 B.C.

110–114. Finding these coins at Curium supports Svoronos' attribution of them to Cyprus, but on whether they were struck by the authority of Ptolemy X or XI, there is no further evidence. The coins listed under No. 114 seem to be without symbol, but it is possible that on some it has been effaced.

116, 117. Head of Zeus Ammon r.

Rev.: Illegible. Eagle stg. l. on thunderbolt; in l. field, star above Δ or Τ.

Svoronos (Sv. iv, p. 333) interpreted the letters Δ and Τ as regnal years of Ptolemy XI, 110 and 95 B.C. In both years, he said, Ptolemy XI was reigning alone, a fact symbolized by the single eagle.

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Other coins in the series have H, K, Λ and M in the field and two eagles; these he considered emblematic of a joint reign with Ptolemy X in 107, 104, 103 and 102 B.C. To Regling, the entire argument, including the strict interpretation of the meaning of the two eagles, was suspect. It seems safe to conclude that the coins are Cypriote from this joint reign, but to identify them with Ptolemy XI is less certain. Poole, unfamiliar with the rare coins with two eagles, attributed No. 116 to Ptolemy, King of Cyprus.

118. Head of Zeus Ammon r.; star in upper r. field.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣ... Two eagles stg. l. on thunderbolt; scepter over shoulders.

The style of the reverse is close to that of No. 111 (see also Svoronos, iii, Pl. LVIII, 21); and the obverse recalls No. 116 and is related to that coin by the symbol, star.

119. Head of Zeus Ammon r.

Rev.: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Eagle stg. l. on thunderbolt, in l. field, cap with strings.

Four of these coins measure 23/24 mm., one 18 mm.; the last is possibly a second denomination. In general style, low relief and fabric, they resemble Nos. 116 and 117. The cap has the high, sometimes conical shape seen on Svoronos' No. 1700 (Pl. LVIII, 17) from the reign of Ptolemy X and Ptolemy XI. On these grounds, the coins are here given to that joint reign and to the Paphos mint.

PTOLEMY XIII (NEOS DIONYSOS)

80–58 B.C. *and* 55–51 B.C.

Ptolemy XIII, surnamed Auletes, was called to the throne of Egypt after the nineteen-day reign of Ptolemy XII. At the same time, his brother was made king of Cyprus. Heretofore, the reigning Ptolemy had been "the king ruling in Cyprus." Now Cyprus and Egypt were distinct. Ptolemy XIII seems to have disassociated himself from the affairs of the island, and the King of Cyprus negotiated directly with Rome. Whatever the political division may have been, dated Ptolemaic tetradrachms have been attributed to Cyprus for these years. Svoronos and Regling agreed that Ptolemy XIII, alone, had the

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right of coinage. Poole, on the other hand, attributed the Cypriote issues for these years to Ptolemy, King of Cyprus. In 58 B.C., Cyprus became a Roman province. Ptolemy XIII, in exile from 58–55 B.C., returned in 55 with the support of Rome and as puppet king. At that time Cyprus was probably returned to Egypt for joint administration.

120, 121. These coins of the usual types and crude style, Svoronos catalogued under Ptolemy XI, but in his text admitted the style might be later, Regling thought the style certainly later and Poole listed No. 120 under Ptolemy, King of Cyprus (*BMC Ptolemies*, p. 120, 48ff.). They are here attributed to the years suggested by Regling and Poole.

CLEOPATRA VII AND PTOLEMY XIV, XV AND XVI

51–30 B.C.

Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy XIII, was the dominant figure of this reign; her brothers, Ptolemy XIV and XV, and her son Caesarion, Ptolemy XVI, were mere figure heads.

122, 123. Although these coins are catalogued by Svoronos under Ptolemy XIII, in his text (Sv. iv, p. 358) he attributed them to Cleopatra in Cyprus.

124. ⊓ on these coins is a more obvious monogram of Cyprus than the ⊼ on preceding ones.

The thirty unidentified Ptolemaic coins are largely late, many of thin fabric, probably barbarous. Ten or so are the 16 mm. size, with the usual types of Ammon head and eagle stg. l., and traces of a symbol in the field. The symbol in some cases may be the lotus found on coins of Ptolemy V–VIII, in others, a star or cornucopiae; but, in no case, is it sufficiently clear to catalogue with certainty.

128. Head of Zeus r., laur. Border of dots.

Rev.: No inscription; Zeus Salaminios stg. l.; in outstretched r., one or two ears of grain on single stalk; sceptre in l.; star above head; border of dots.

On grounds of provenance these coins have been attributed to Cyprus (Babelon, "I.W.," *RN*, 1898, p. 205, 4838f.; *BMC Cyprus*, p. lxxxi, 2, where they are assigned to the mint of Paphos). They vary

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greatly in execution, the finer in high relief are reminiscent of the best of the small coins of Arsinoë III, No. 85. At their worst they approach the barbarous. The flans, though somewhat larger, resemble the cast flans from the reign of Ptolemy IV.

There are few gaps in the Ptolemaic series in Cyprus where so large a group, twenty-one coins, can be fitted in. The most probable seems to be in the disastrous reign of Ptolemy V. The Cyprus mints were then issuing gold and silver almost exclusively and the need for local small bronze may have been supplied by a non-regal issue. Stratigraphic evidence supporting an attribution to this reign is slight and inconclusive, but in two instances the coins were found associated with coins of Ptolemy IV, one a context in which nothing earlier than Ptolemy IV was found.

129. The date of this coin of Augustus from Cyprus with Nike on the reverse is fixed by the reverse inscription, COS OCTAVO DESIG; see M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 80.

130. This coin from the same reign and Zeus Salaminos as reverse type was struck by A. Plautus Procos (*ibid.* p. 143).

131. Hill notes, *NC*, 1917, p. 24, that these coins with types of Capricorn and Scorpion are found in quantity in Cyprus. Grant, *op. cit.* p. 143, also attributes them to Cyprus at approximately the same date as Nos. 132 and 132a.

132. *Obv.*: AVGVST. TRIB. POT. PONT. MAX Head of Augustus.
Rev.: C. CAESAR. AVG. F. PONT. COS. Head of Caius.

The majority of these coins are wholly illegible. Two, however, have portions of the inscriptions as here given.

132a. This example is a curious aberration.
Obv.: as above.
Rev.: [CAESAR AVG PA] T. PATR Head of Caius.

The obverse inscription is that used for Augustus on two of these issues (*NC*, 1924, p. 14, Nos. 25, 26) and on the other partially legible coins from Curium, but the reverse inscription is that used for the obverse on a third issue (*ibid.* p. 15, 27). It applies, of course, to Augustus and not to Caius, whose inscription should read as on the preceding coin.

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135. The obverse head of Drusus is that of *BMC Cyprus*, p. 74, 7; the reverse that of No. 8 showing Zeus Salaminos and the Paphian temple of Aphrodite. It is probable that the date is that of Tiberius' Roman imperial coins, *BMCRE*, I, pp. 133f., Nos. 95–101.

140. Two specimens of these coins of Pius and the young Marcus Aurelius have been struck over Ptolemaic coins. The flans (32 and 33 mm.) are larger than is usual for the type and have the characteristic Ptolemaic bevel. The earlier type is obliterated.

144. IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS AVS, Head r., laur.

Rev.: ΔЄ, star beneath, all in wreath.

The coins were attributed to Antioch by Wroth (*BMC Galatia*, p. 205, 447ff.). Bellinger (*Dura* vi, p. 156, 1827) probably correctly attributed them to Laodicea on the grounds that the Latin inscription is more characteristic of Laodicea than of Antioch. Finding fifty-seven of these coins at Dura, fifteen at Curium and only five at Antioch (Waage, *Antioch*, iv, p. 57, 600) weakens the case for Antioch. The coins seem to be from an issue designed primarily for distribution and struck concurrently with others destined for local use (see Nos. 179, 180). That the type may not have been struck in Laodicea exclusively, but also in Cyprus seems possible (see 145 below).

145. An example of these coins reading IMP CAE ALEXAND... with reverse similar to No. 144, is cited by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and is the only published example of the type known to me. Clemens Bosch was the authority for attributing it to Cyprus (Westholm, p. 135) in which he is unquestionably right. This continuation at Cyprus of the type of 144 is strong evidence that Cyprus participated in that issue too.

149. M AVP ANT ωNINOG Head of Caracalla r., laur.

Rev.: ΦЄNЄ... Hadis Sarapis seated l., Cerberus at his feet.

This coin of Pheneus belongs to a special issue put out by many small towns in the Peloponnesus c. 202–205 A.D. and apparently intended as an initial payment to local troops levied for service in Mesopotamia (Bellinger, *Dura* vi, pp. 166ff, 207, H. Seyrig, "Les trouvailles de monnaies péloponésiennes en Syrie," *Revue Syria*, xxxiv, 1957, fasc. 3–4, pp. 249ff.). This single coin is slight, but possible evidence of the route taken by some of those troops.

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152. There can be little or no doubt that these coins with the head of Apollo and lyre are four examples of a common issue from Cyzicus. Another example of the type was included in a mixed lot of coins sent to the ANS from Cyprus in 1948. On none of the five is Ξ Υ legible below Κ Υ. These rather surprising finds provoke futile speculation. Are these local imitations in which the Ξ Υ is purposely omitted? Was there unexpectedly active sea trade between Cyprus and Cyzicus?

153. ...ΚΑΙ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕ... Heads of Marcus and Lucius laur. confronted.

Rev.: ΕΠΙ CΤΡ ΑΤΥΑ [ΚΡΑΤΙΠΠΟΥ] Asclepius on r. and Hygieia on l., stg. facing one another.

This appears to be an unpublished coin of Pergamum. A similar type, however, is published for Marcus alone (*BMC Mysia*, p. 146, 284f.) and for Verus alone (*ibid.* p. 147, 291). The magistrate's name was completed from these specimens.

154. Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΟΝΙΝΥS ΡΙΥS ΑΥG Bust of Caracalla r., laur.

Rev.: COL AVG TROA Apollo stg. l., r. foot on cippus, laurel branch in r. hand.

Mionnet (ii. p. 648, 132) cites this type for Geta, at Alexandria Troas, and *BMC Troas*, p. 24, 121, lists a similar coin for Severus Alexander.

155. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΓΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟC Bust r., laur.

Rev.: ΕΠΙ Ϝ ΑΥΡ ΤΥΧΙΚΟΥ ΖΟCΙΜΟΥ; in ex., ΜΑΓΝΗ inverted; in inner field l., ΤΩΝ. Asclepius seated r. beneath a tree on which he leans with l. hand, feeding snake with r., staff in lap.

Tychicus appears with Poly ... on a coin of Maximinus from Magnesia (*BMC Ionia*, p. 169, 74) Zosimus, also with Poly ... on another (Mionnet, Supp. vi, p. 248, 1090).

156. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΡΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC Head of Pius r., laur.

Rev.: ΙΑCΕΩΝ Zeus Serapis seated l., Eagle or Cerberus at his feet.

The same type (with Cerberus) is recorded for Caracalla at Iasus. *BMC Caria*, p. 126,16.

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162. AYTKMAY CEOYH ANTΩNEINOC Head of Caracalla r., laur.

Rev.: CI ΔH ΓΩN Atargatis seated facing on lion r.

Imhoof-Blumer (*Kla. M.* ii, p. 342, 30a) published a similar coin for Philip I.

165. ... ΓAI TPЄ ... Head r., laur.

Rev.: ЄTO[YC date illeg., AN€MO]YPIЄΩN Cultus figure of Artemis, mummy shaped; to l., stag l.

The attribution of this coin of Anemourium to Gallus is uncertain. The portrait is that of a young man, possibly Herennius Etruscus. The inscription, however, seems to read ΓAI TP€. At nearby Colybrassus (supposedly between Anemurium and Side) there are two coins of Trebonianus Gallus which read: AYTKPA (*sic*) KAI ΓAIOY TP€B ΓAΛΛON C€B and AYTKPA KAI ΓAI TP€ ΓAΛΛON C€ (Mionnet iii, p. 571, 167, 168). Both, like this coin, omitting Vibius. The reverse type is published for Philip I (*BMC Cilicia*, p. 42, 7).

170. The flan of this coin of Alexander Bala and Cleopatra with cornucopiae on the reverse is too small for the type, ΛEΞANΔ spans its width.

173. This As of Augustus is similar to one described and illustrated by Grant (*Imp. to Auc.* p. 100, V; Pl. III, 21).

174. This may be the dupondius of Augustus described in *BMC Galatia*, p. 166, 126ff. also with SC in wreath, and ⅄ on the obverse. It is dated by Grant (op.cit. p. 100, VII) *c.* 4–3 B.C., and by Bellinger (*Dura*, vi, pp. 147f.) 4–5 A.D.

177–179. These coins of Elagabalus with SC, Δ€ above and eagle below, are published for Antioch (*BMC Galatia*, p. 203, 426–431). The 123 examples found at Antioch (Waage, *Antioch*, iv, pp. 55f., 588–590) and the 34, plus seven, similar varieties from Dura (*Dura*, vi, pp. 78f., 1691–1695) confirm the attribution. Cyprus adds its quota. Stylistically, these coins are indistinguishable from the Antiocene. The same minutiae of design appear on both. Only a single varient of the legend, AYT K MAP AV ANTΩN€INOC, is not among those recorded by Mrs. Waage from Antioch. Perhaps early in the

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reign, coins were shipped from Antioch to Cyprus, as well as to Dura and elsewhere and later the local mint may have produced bronzes for Elagabalus of type No. 144, ΔЄ over star.

186. Head of Tyche r., veiled.

Rev.: Cornucopiae; on r. the name, Carne, in Phoenician script, on l. date, largely illegible, but ending in IIII.

This is similar to a coin in the *BMC*, except that the name there is on the l. and the date on the r.

190. Head of Tyche r., veiled and turreted; palm over l. shoulder.

Rev.: Astarte stg. l. on galley l.; in l. field ΘOΣ, in r. 𐤌 or 𐤌; in upper r. 𐤐; Phoenician inscription in exergue not clear.

These two small coins of Tyre, found in different contexts at Curium, are of the same date, a date known heretofore only on a single specimen in Berlin (*BMC Phoenicia*, p. 261, note 1). Here the 𐤌 on similar pieces, BMC 309–312 (*op. cit.*, 262), reads 𐤌 and 𐤌.

201. KOMMOΔOC KAIC M ANT YIOC CЄB Bust r. head bare.

Rev.: ΓAZA ϚAC Within distyle temple Artemis r., drawing arrow from quiver with r., holding bow in l.; Mannas, nude l.; between them, 𐤇.

De Saulcy in *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1874), p. 226, 2, describes the reverse as "Deux divinités se donnant la main," which is the impression given, but comparison with the coin of Faustina II and Lucilla (*BMC Palestine*, p. 158, 100, Pl. XVI, 6) with the same type shows that Artemis is supposed to be holding a bow which is not here visible.

208. The general appearance of this unidentified coin with its cast, beveled flan is Seleucid. The head has more the character of a portrait than of an Apollo. The reverse is so eroded that the type may be something quite other than an animal.

209. Apollo stg. l. holding branch (?); border of dots.

Rev.: stag r.; border of dots.

The flan of this coin is thin and flat, the types in low relief. There is no trace of an inscription. The types, the style, the dotted border suggest coins of Masicytes and Myra in Lycia in the first century B.C.

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ROMAN COINS

210. CAESAR Head of Augustus r., bare.
Rev.: AVGVSTVS in laurel wreath.

This coin, an *AS* is attributed by Mattingly (*BMC*, i, p. 117, 731ff.) to the mint at Pergamum, *c.* 27–23 B.C.

211. CAISAR Head of Augustus r., bare.
Rev.: C·A within laurel wreath.

These coins are also ascribed to Pergamum by Mattingly (*ibid.*, p. 115, 708ff.) and dated before 27 B.C. Michael Grant discusses both types in his *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 107, and again in *The Main Six Aes Coinages of Augustus*, pp. 113ff. In the latter he argues for a later date then Mattingly's, proposing for both Nos. 210 and 211 a date shortly after 14 B.C. In the same work he makes an important distinction between local issues and those struck expressly for wide distribution. The two issues here belong to the latter group. Grant's more recent monograph, *The Coinage of Tiberius in Cyprus*, further clarifies the matter. There (p. 1) he distinguishes between *provincial issues*, struck by the Roman authorities for the use of a province (see Nos. 129–135) and the *local issues* of cities and tribes. In addition to these there are *Imperial issues* (the catagory to which Nos. 210, 211 belong), "extensive series designed for multi-provincial circulation." The types on these last vary in different regions. The AVGVSTVS series has its nuclear centre in Asia, the SC series in Syria (see Nos. 173, 174 listed under Antioch). "But in both cases there was, beyond any doubt, a 'branch' issue, with similar type, made at the mint in Cyprus."[9] He adds "possibly Pergamum."

212. M AGRIPPA LF COS III Head l. wearing rostral crown. C't'm., head of Domitian r.
Rev.: S C Neptune stg. l.

This posthumous issue is variously attributed to Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius, of these the first is the most likely. (See *BMC*, i, pp. cxxxiii and cxl.)

[9] Unfortunately Grant's monograph was not published until after the Curium coins had been returned to Cyprus. No. 210 may be Cypriote. Of No. 211 there is less doubt. These four coins from Curium support Grant's theory that a branch issue of the C·A type was struck at a mint in Cyprus.

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230. No inscription. Busts of Marcus r. and Commodus l., laur., confronted.

Rev.: PROPAGA/TORIBVS / IMPERII in wreath.

This is not published, nor is there any close parallel. Gnecchi (*I Medaglioni Romani*, ii, pt. l, p. 44, nos. 5, 6) gives two medallions with confronted busts on the obverse and the two emperors' names. The one is dated in 178 (TR P XXXII), the other has no inscription on the reverse, but since the type is the same on both, Mars r. with spear and trophy, they may be nearly contemporary. Our medallion with anepigraphic obverse is perhaps somewhat earlier. "Propagator" is a rare word not elsewhere found in numismatic legends. Its general meaning "one who continues" (the imperium) may be inferred from a similar inscription, PROPAGO IMPERI, on an aureus of Caracalla (*C.* 524) and an aureus and denarius of Plautilla (*C.* 21, 22) where the accompanying types are Caracalla and Plautilla clasping hands. By inference from the coins, the medallion may commemorate Commodus' marriage in 177. Then both Marcus and Commodus could be acclaimed "propagator," an epithet unsuitable to Commodus before marriage. This date brings it close to the known medallions with similar obverse.

Somewhat less convincingly, because without numismatic parallel, but more in keeping with the other medallions with two busts, "propagator" can be interpreted in the sense implied in its use as an epithet of Jupiter: *est militaris, est triumphator et propagator, tropaeophorus* (Apuleius, *De Mundo*, xxxvii, 371). As "one who enlarges the boundaries of empire" the word would be appropriate to the military careers of both father and son.

There are holes in the edge of the medallion, both top and bottom, which were undoubtedly used for some kind of setting, perhaps the usual ring on a frame, secured at those points.

233. M COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG PIVS FELIX Bust r., laur.

Rev.: PM] TR P VII COS III PP In *ex.* VOTA] PVBL[ICA Sacrificial scene before hexastyle Corinthian temple. Commodus veiled and togate, standing l. holds patera over tripod; behind him two figures. On l. four figures facing the emperor: a child at tripod holding fiale, behind him youth playing pipe and a man with long staff. On extreme l., victimarius sacrificing bull.

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This was presumably struck for distribution on New Year's Day, Jan. 1, 182. *Cf.* Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (New York, 1944), pp. 79f.

234. L AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODVS AVG PIVS FELIX Busts of Commodus, laur., and Roma helmeted, r., jugate.

Rev.: PM TR P XVII IMP VIII COS VII PP Emperor veiled and togate standing l. sacrificing at blazing altar; facing him, Hercules nude, leaning on club which rests on rock; lion's skin over l. forearm.

The medallion was gilded. Extensive traces remain on the obverse, none on the reverse where it may never have been applied. The medallions with Hercules and Commodus are discussed by Miss Toynbee, pp. 74f. and Commodus' preoccupation with the cult of Hercules by Jean Babelon, *RN*, 1953, pp. 23–36.

338. On this coin Ϛ is on the left and star on the right, an arrangement not given by Maurice.

347. The obverse inscription reads IMP C LIC LICINIVS PF AVG, in Maurice Licinius is spelled LICINNIVS.

357. Maurice gives this type for Crispus with a similar portrait, small bust l., laur., in r., thunderbolt, in l., globe and scepter.

432. DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.; in field, A and star.

Rev.: HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS Emperor stg. l., holding labarum and scepter, is crowned by Victory at r.; in *ex.*: ·ΓSIS

Although too battered to warrant a cast the type and mint are certain.

434. These coins are from two series: TЄSΓ and SMTSΔ.

In dealing with the coins of Constantius II and Constans after 337 A.D. Mattingly's chronology as proposed in *NC*, 1933, pp. 182–202 has been followed. The most recent work on these coins was published after the Curium catalogue was written and is not there referred to. In the *Numismatic Circular*, vol. LXIV (Jan.–Sept. 1956) P. V. Hill and J. P. C. Kent in "The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine" cover the period from 337 A.D. to the introduction of the large *Æ Fel Temp Reparatio* type which they date to 346 rather than to 348 A.D. as Mattingly did. The same authors in "Bronze Roman

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Imperial Coinage of the late Empire" (*Numismatic Circular*, vol. LXV, 9) continue their re-examination of late Roman bronze for the period between the introduction of the *Fel Temp Reparatio* type, c. 348, and the monetary reform of Anastasius in 498. This survey is still incomplete (Sept. 1958).

536. This coin must be a hybrid. The type belongs to Arcadius and Honorius, introduced *c.* 395 A.D. probably after the death of Theodosius.

550. This type is listed by Pearce only for Honorius, but a specimen for Arcadius was also found at Antioch (*Antioch*, iv, pt. 2, p. 142, no. 1929).

553. Of the emperors striking this type, Arcadius alone has the shield emblazoned with a cross, not a horseman.

566. The inscription on this coin, largely illegible, begins DN A and must be a coin of Arcadius although the type is recorded only for Theodosius II. The reverse is too worn to cast.

573. Both in Sabatier and Tolstoi (Vol. I, p. 51, 153) the mintmark on this coin is NIK, not SMNA as here.

618. The obverse of this coin reads DN MA[RCIA]NVS P F AVG, the mintmark, CON, the C resembling a K. A similar reading KON was made on a coin of Leo by Miss Thompson (Agora, p. 103, 1707). Dr. Kent of the British Museum assures me that our coin is typical of the Constantinople mint and that the mintmark KON is otherwise unknown. Since the vertical line at left is clear it can perhaps be explained as a guide line scatched in by the die engraver to mark off a space to receive the mintmark. On a larger coin so delicate a line could not be confused with the lettering.

619, 620. The monograms vary in detail. The majority, including the three with star, No. 620, have no horizontal stroke at the base of the right leg of the M.

621. The monogram here is high and narrow with a large S, probably an imitation (*cf. BMC Vandals*, Pl. IV, 5).

622. The obverse inscription is illegible, but judging by its length probably read DN LEO PER PET AVG.

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623. On these coins the obverse reads DN LEO MVL, and the same form is repeated on No. 629.

624. The obverse reads D N LEO.

625. These coins have a similar obverse to No. 624. On some of them an E (square or round) is legible to the right of the figure on the reverse. Tolstoi restores an L in the left field. It has also been conjectured that the letter on the left is a b, the letters and type interpreted as Verina, the empress of Leo.

628. The obverses here are illegible, but Mrs. Waage read D N LEO F AVG on a similar coin found at Antioch (*Antioch*, iv, p. 146, Type 1).

630. The obverse here is clear: D N LEO PEP PET A[VG. The coin is a hybrid, on the reverse is the monogram of Marcian.[10]

631. The obverse legend of the example illustrated is: D N ZENO]N P F A[VG making it clear that the name ends in N not O. On the reverse below the wreath are marks suggestive of the mintmark on the Marcian specimen No. 618, but as mintmarks are unknown on Zeno's small bronzes an explanation must await better preserved examples.

632. This carefully cut monogram differs from that on the Constantinople coins and implies another official mint.

633. This coin with incomplete monogram is quite uncertainly attributed to Basiliscus. The known small bronzes with monograms from his reign are from his joint reign with Marcus and those with Verina (Milne, *NC*, 1926, p. 88). He struck gold and silver both as sole ruler (Tolstoi, i, pp. 163ff.) and jointly with Marcus (*ibid.*, pp. 165f.) Possibly small bronzes formed part of both issues. The monogram here resembles that given by Milne for Verina and Basiliscus.

FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES

MISCELLANEOUS AND IMITATIONS

Fully nine-tenths of the coins under this heading come from exploring an extensive water-supply system. On the evidence of the

[10] Dr. J. P. C. Kent of the British Museum read the monogram for me. To him I am also indebted for the information that mintmarks are not found on the small coins of Zeno.

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Byzantine coins found in tracing its course, its construction was probably nearly completed in the time of Justinian I.[11] The finds include coins of Anastasius, Justin I, Justinian, three for Justin II (Nos. 692, 694), one each for Maurice and Phocas, then several from the reigns of Heraclius and Constans II. Practically all of the coins for the first three of these emperors found at Curium come from this complex. In addition to the Byzantine coins the water system yielded over 400 miscellaneous small pieces, mostly illegible. Among them are many of "Vandalic" fabric, some of identifiable Vandal and Ostrogothic kings, some of uncertain origin; a number of thin cast copper blanks; 16 plain lead discs (7, 8 mm.); many worn late Roman coins their imitations and casts from molds worn almost smooth; also some ancient bronze, coins of the Ptolemies and the Jews. From their distribution it seems that these unrelated coins and bits of metal all circulated together. J. G. Milne's remarks on the exchange media of fifth-century Egypt ("The Currency of Egypt in the Fifth Century," *NC*, 1926, p. 62) perhaps hold true for Cyprus also in the early sixth century: "that any piece of metal would serve for the purpose of a unit — virtually a counter — ... and that no guarantee of value by the government was attached to any of these pieces."

Certainly the Vandal and Ostrogothic pieces come from the West and probably Nos. 640, 644–648 and others as well. The majority, however, cannot be called "Vandal," they seem to be east Mediterranean imitations current in the fifth and sixth centuries and attributable to no Vandal ruler.

The phrase "Vandalic fabric" is here used to describe the thickish coins of small module, 8–10 mm., differentiating them from the thinner, generally larger, typical late Roman coins and their imitations. The phrase is warranted because such fabric is characteristic of the true Vandal coins. It is also misleading, the fabric of the official minimi of Leo through Anastasius and their imitations — many certainly eastern — is often indistinguishable from that of the Vandal coinage.

[11] The restoration of an aqueduct of St. Conon by Justinian is mentioned by Procopius, *de aed.*, 5, 9. "It is generally assumed ... that this was the aqueduct from Chytri to Salamis," but Hill, *H. of C.*, p. 280, n. 2, 3, goes on to suggest that the "aqueduct is the irrigation system of which there are remains at Paphos." Curium is now another possibility.

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634. Two of these coins are in a technique recalling Western or Gaulish coins (*cf. BMC*, Pl. III, 13–15), here PLATE IX, the others of a debased Roman style (*cf. ibid.*, 1–8).

636. This type, not listed among the "Vandals" in the *BMC*, may not have been current in Italy and North Africa, but Milne cites it (*op. cit.*, p. 89) among the imitations of fifth-century coins found in Egypt.

637. The smallest of these coins is of typical Vandal fabric, the largest a crude cast copy.

647. Some of these coins with cross potent in wreath are like the coins of Hilderic, others of thin fabric seem copies of coins of Theodosius II.

649–656. On few of the monogrammed coins from Marcian through Anastasius can mintmarks be read. Since it is often impossible to judge the quality of workmanship on worn coins the division between official issues and imitations is, in the case of Anastasius, arbitrary, based on the enclosing frame of the reverse. Coins with monogram in wreath have been listed as imperial, those with linear or dotted border and those with no enclosing frame are called "imitations." As a general criterion this does not hold. The wreath is found on many imitations, is common on coins of the Vandals and the Ostrogoths.

650. The obverse of this coin is barbarous, the reverse with wreath, good.

653. These are probably imitations of the monogram of Anastasius. Compare form of monogram shown in *Antioch* iv, p. 148, 2063.

656. The monogram here is that of Anastasius reversed.

657. The monogram ꟻ recalls that of Justinian, *BMC Vandals*, p. 33, 140 (or Anastasius, Tolstoi, Pl. 14, 69), but there is no trace of the S or of a cross-bar for the T. The bold wreath enclosing the monogram may indicate that this is a western importation, not an East Mediterranean imitation.

660. This coin appears to be a diminutive copy of the coins of Justin I or Justinian from a western mint (*cf.* Tolstoi, i, Pl. 25, 445–449).

661. These Є coins without letter or symbol are obvious imitations. The one illustrated is cast.

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666. Bust r., diad.; traces of inscription / ℭ

This is apparently a coin referred to by Friedländer, *Münzen der Vandalen u. Ostgothen*, (Leipzig, 1849), p. 35, where he says Lazoy had published an incomplete monogram of Gelimer on Pl. II, 10 of *Explication de quelques médailles a un monogramme des rois goths d'Italie* (Aix, 1843). Lazoy's work, not easily accessible, has not been consulted. Obviously a vertical stroke at the right will complete the monogram.

670. The obverse of this coin is so eroded that it might be questioned whether the bust is facing or in profile. However, the lion r. with star above identifies it as a coin of Baduila, not of Leo (*cf.* Sabatier, i, Pl. VII. 11).

BYZANTINE COINS

673. This Є coin with N at r. is attributed in the *BMC* to Antioch. Professor Philip Grierson (unpublished notes)[12] attributes it to Nicomedia.

676. The N here also denotes the Nicomedia mint (Grierson).

678. In fabric and poor workmanship this coin resembles the barbarous minimi with monogram and should perhaps be classed with them as an imitation. Wroth (*BMC*, p. xiii) suggested that the production of minimi came to an end with the currency reform of 498 A.D. The number of known monogrammed coins of Anastasius is large for an output limited to the first seven years of his reign. The popularity of the small denomination may have continued in the provinces only and the later minimi of Anastasius as well as these of Justin may be provincial issues (e.g. Antioch, the mint to which Mrs. Waage in *Antioch*, iv, p. 150, 2079, attributes them). A similar monogram on a larger denomination, *c.* 17 mm., is published as a coin of Justin II from Carthage (*BMC Vandals*, p. 99, 260).

684. Few of these Є coins with cross at r., described in *NC*, 1926, p. 388, as well as by Tolstoi, p. 52, 37–40, are clearly legible; the majo-

[12] I am indebted to Professor Grierson for permission to quote from his notes on a number of Byzantine coins and to Professor Bellinger for calling them to my attention.

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rity, however, seem to be coins of Justinian and the legend on the single imitation of the type, No. 663, also seems to read IVSTINIANVS. Therefore, with reservations, all are listed under this emperor.

689. Specimens of these coins with facing bust of Justinian and ✠ occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard and were considered by Friedländer, *Münzen der Vandalen u. Ostgothen*, Leipzig, 1849, p. 43, as of Italian origin. Wroth thought them more probably products of the Carthage mint.

692–694. These Є coins with monogram on the obverse were formerly attributed to Justinian by Sabatier and Wroth. They are now generally accepted as coins of Justin II. M. J. B. Bury in "A Misinterpreted Monogram of the Sixth Century," *Mélanges Schlumberger*, vol. ii, pp. 301 f., convincingly interpreted the monogram ⸸ as Justin and Sophia rather than Φ IVCTINIANOV. It is noteworthy, however, that the three coins of this type are the only coins of Justin II from the water-system (for other coins from water-system see p. 118), and, with the exception of a coin of Maurice, year 685/6, and one for Phocas, are the only coins from that complex that can be dated between the reigns of Justinian I and Heraclius. From areas outside of the water-system other issues of Justin II outnumber the coins of Justinian. Professor Grierson, again in unpublished notes, attributes No. 694, with K in the field of the reverse, to the Cyzicus mint.

695. The mintmark on this coin looks like CON, but there seems to be no I denomination from Constantinople for Justin. Yet the emperor must be he. Justinian has no coins dated ANNO until his 13th year. The portraits of Tiberius, Maurice and Phocas are facing. Similar coins from the following year are recorded for Thessalonica.

704, 706. These coins of Antioch with blundered legends are attributed by Wroth in the *BMC* to Tiberius II before his accession. Tiberius dated his coins from his appointment as Caesar in 574 A.D., but it is improbable that he struck coins before coming to the throne in 578. The coins from the years 1, 2, 3 should therefore be given to Maurice (Grierson, unpublished notes). On these coins a trefoil ornament decorates the emperor's crown. Coins from later years of this reign — also with blundered legends — (*see* PLATE X, 704) have the same trefoil

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ornament. This detail distinguishes the coins of Maurice at Antioch from those of Tiberius at that mint. On the latter the crown is surmounted by a cross.

710. All of these coins are overstrikes; two on undetermined types; two on XXXX coins of Phocas; one on a Maurice Tiberius and one on two types, the second an M coin of Heraclius with bust.

711. Ten of these coins are overstrikes. Three coins of Maurice Tiberius and one earlier type of Heraclius with two figures were identified as undertypes.

714. Wroth notes that coins of the Λ denomination are scarce. None was found in the Athenian agora and but one at Antioch. Both Curium pieces are overstrikes as are the majority of known specimens.

715. Of these coins, the one for the year 10 is an overstrike on a coin of Phocas.

716. There is little doubt that this coin with three standing figures is Cypriote, the type and a similar date are known. It is not, however, an official issue. It seems a good Arab imitation on a thin flan. The weight is less than 2.4 gms. The letters KYΠP in the exergue are retrograde and blundered.

Both J. L. Warren (*NC*, 1861, pp. 42–55) and Alfred Westholm (*Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1940, pp. 135–147) assign the coins marked KYΠP of which No. 716 is an imitation, to the time of Constans II. I have followed Wroth's attribution of them to the reign of Heraclius. By the year 17 of the reign of Constans, Constantia had been twice sacked and seems an unsuitable place for a mint; although the Soli hoard (Westholm, *op. cit.*) spans a period from about year 8 to year 19 it contains no specimen of this undoubtedly local issue. There is no evidence that Constans II ever struck any coins with three figures, he appears with one son or with three. The three figure type is common for Heraclius.

717. This coin is an overstrike on uncertain type.

719. This coin is overstruck on an M coin of Maurice from Antioch for the year 16. The date of the Heraclius die has left no impression.

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721. All but two of these coins are overstrikes, three are on coins of Heraclius with two figures. None is countermarked.

723. Three of these coins are countermarked ⚷.

724. Four of these coins are countermarked ⚷; one is overstruck on an M coin of Heraclius, type *BMC*, no. 116.

725. Two of these coins are countermarked ⚷.

726. Two of these coins are countermarked ⚷.

It is difficult to prove that any issues of Constans II are certainly Cypriote. On the basis of the Curium coins as well as other evidence No. 721 from the year 3 seems to have enjoyed a more strictly local currency than any other. Nothing in the character of the coin however suggests that it was produced locally, it seems a Constantinople issue shipped almost in its entirety to Cyprus. Nine coins of this variety were found at Curium, accounting for almost a third of all the coins of Constans II from the excavations. An even higher percentage of these coins is found in the Kharacha hoard from Cyprus (A. I. Dikigoropoulos, "A Byzantine Hoard from Kharacha," *NC* vol. xvi, 1956, pp. 255ff.) There among 89 coins from the first seven years of this reign, 69 are of this type. At Athens where 817 coins of Constans II were found, only one example of the type is listed; at Antioch there were but three, a small percentage of the total. Although no coins of this variety turned up in the Soli hoard (Westholm, *op. cit.*), that hoard probably contained no coins of so early a date.

As a device on their coins ⚷ is certainly a monogam for both Constans II and Constantine IV. As a countermark, it is characteristically and exclusively Cypriote and probably quite fortuitously it is also appropriate to the mint city Constantia. An examination of the *BMC Byzantine Coins*, shows that all coins from the "Cyprus Find" (*see* Warren, *NC*, 1861) are so stamped, but that those from other sources are not. All but one of the coins in the Soli hoard bore this countermark. It appears on no coins found in either the Antioch or the Athenian excavations.

After its sack and destruction by the Arabs in 647/649 A.D., Constantia seems an improbable site for a mint. Still a sort of local coinage could have been created by importing specie from a large mint,

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e.g. Constantinople, and countermarking it, an operation easily carried out even in a ruined city. In addition to being more easily struck than a special type, the countermark by defacing the coins was an effective means of keeping them on the island. (Compare the mutilated coinage of the West Indies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.) The many coins showing little wear (notably in the Warren hoard) are not necessarily evidence of a local mint. Their freshness may simply show that specie was imported directly from an outside mint and countermarked before being put into circulation. Coins already on the island and those brought in by trade would likewise be rounded up and countermarked when possible. Coins Nos. 721, 722, antedate (and may have been lost before) the adoption of a countermarking scheme. This scheme was initiated after the sack of 647 or 649, possibly as early as 651 A.D. or possibly not until after the second raid of 653/4. The Kharacha hoard, with no coin countermarked and its latest coin dated 648/9, would seem to support the latter suggestion for Mr. Dikigoropoulos, judging by the wear, thinks the hoard was in circulation after 649 A.D. The most telling argument against Cyprus as a mint for coins of Constans II after 649 is the large number of all his types found both in the Athenian agora and at Antioch, evidence unavailable to Warren and Westholm.

731. I CA AKI OC [Δ] ЄC ΠO TH Emperor stg. facing in crown, long robe and jewelled mantle falling from l. arm. In his r., long cross, in l., globus cr.

Rev.: MΡ $\overline{\Theta Y}$ Virgin nimbate orans r.

This type is similar to type I of Manuel, *cf. BMC Byz.*, p. 577. The coin is overstruck on a coin of Manuel I, probably *BMC Byz.*, p. 576, type 12, Pl. XX. 5.

732. .CAA...ΔЄC... Emperor holding cross and globus cr. being crowned by Virgin, both stg. facing.

Rev.: Christ enthroned. Illeg. except for $\overline{\text{IC}}$ to l. of nimbus.

A poor specimen of this coin was published by Goodacre, *Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1928. More legible examples are shown in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, vol. 60, no. 11 (Nov., 1952) col. 512. The types on the Curium coin are less worn than any of the published pieces.

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733 Illegible. Crowned bust facing, holds globus cr.

Rev.: K, ANNO to l., II to r.; Γ below, cross above.

The coin is an overstrike and I am uncertain whether the Γ is part of this type or part of the earlier one. The style of the obverse dates this toward the end of the long line of coins bearing denominations and dates. It seems possibly a coin of Constantine V, 741–775, for whom Sabatier publishes a similar specimen (Vol. ii, p. 56, 33) or of Justinian II, 705–711 A.D.

MEDIEVAL COINS

735. One of these coins has pellets in the four quarters of the cross. The other two have no pellets.

740. One of these coins is a variety mentioned by Schlumberger with two dots behind the lion's tail; on another there is no crosslet in the reverse field.

744. This variety, not listed by Schlumberger, has stars in the four quarters of the cross.

745. There is a wide variety of minor variations in these inscriptions, but in all but one GRATIA or GRATA is spelled with a "T". Both Schlumberger and F. de Saulcy, *Numismatique des Croisades*, Paris, 1847, p. 111 explain the prevalence and poor quality of these coins by quoting the Cypriote historian P. Lusignan. "Le roi Jaques, se trouvant en grande nécessité d'argent, print tous les chauderons d'airain qui estoient aux baigns publics et fit battre d'iceux plusieurs sortes de monnoye."

753. These coins were struck in Venice for trade in the Levant and are of smaller module than those destined for local use.

ERRATA ON PLATES

On PLATE III the reverses of Nos. 91 and 92 are interchanged. That shown as 91 is actually the reverse of 92 and that shown as 92 is actually the reverse of 91.

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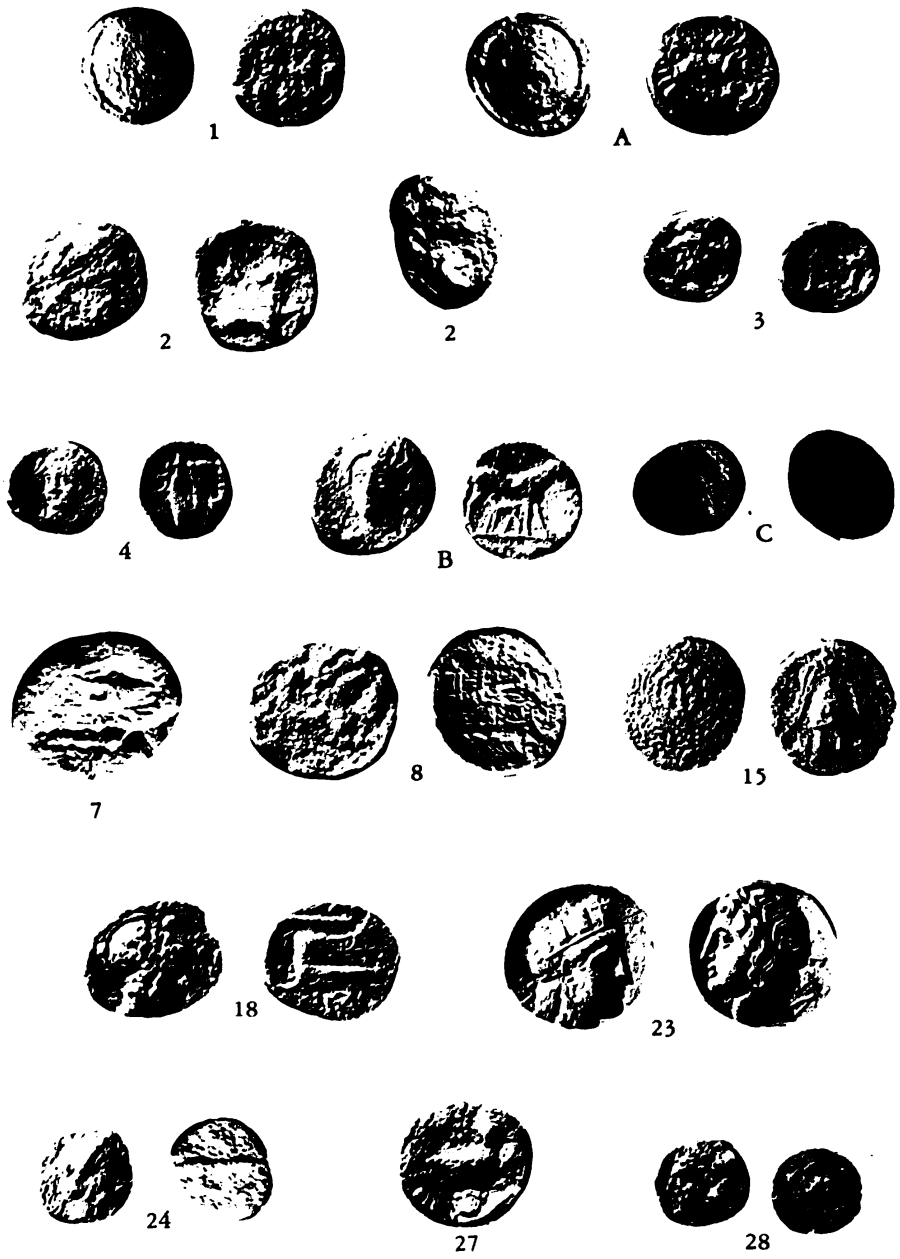
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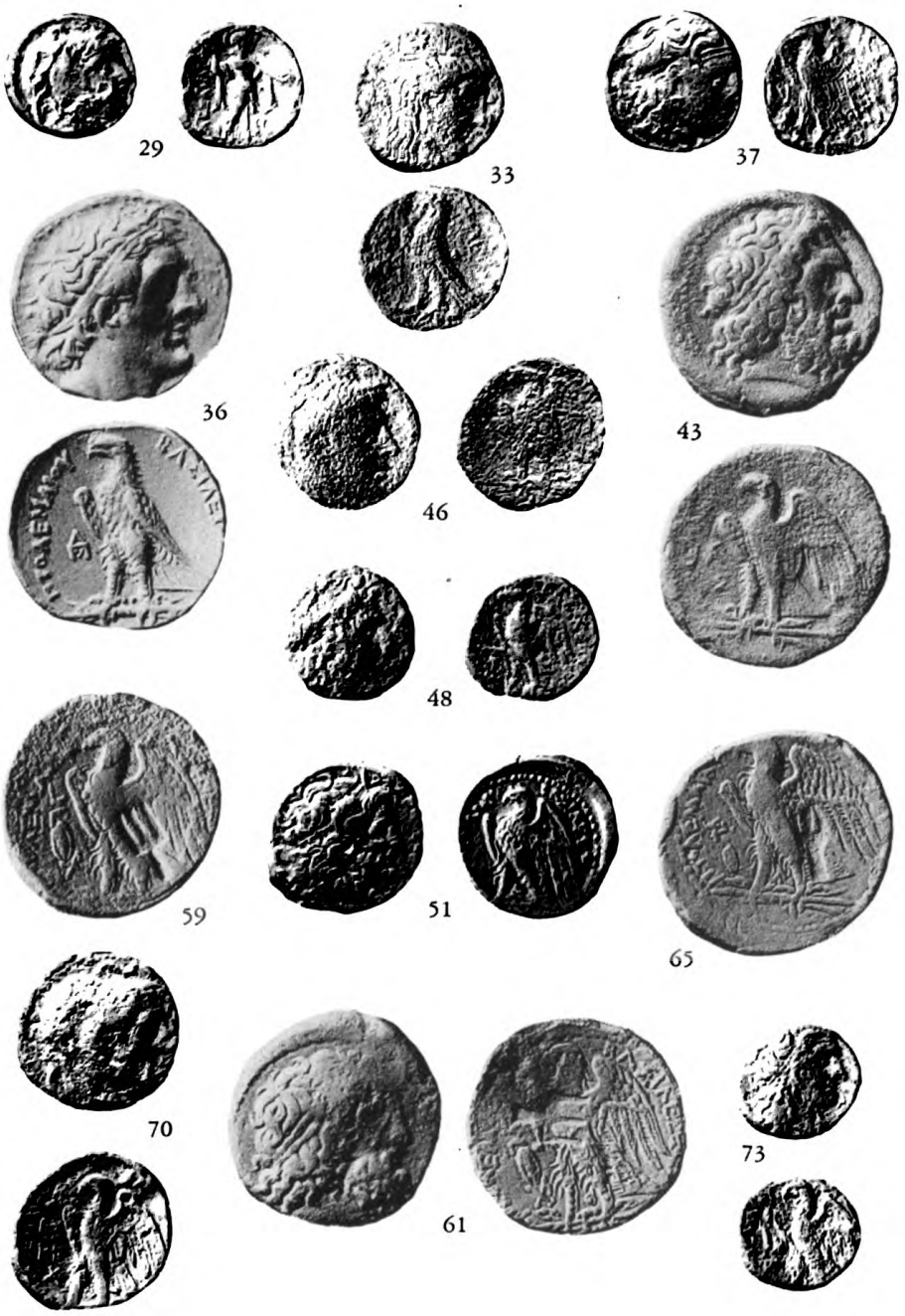
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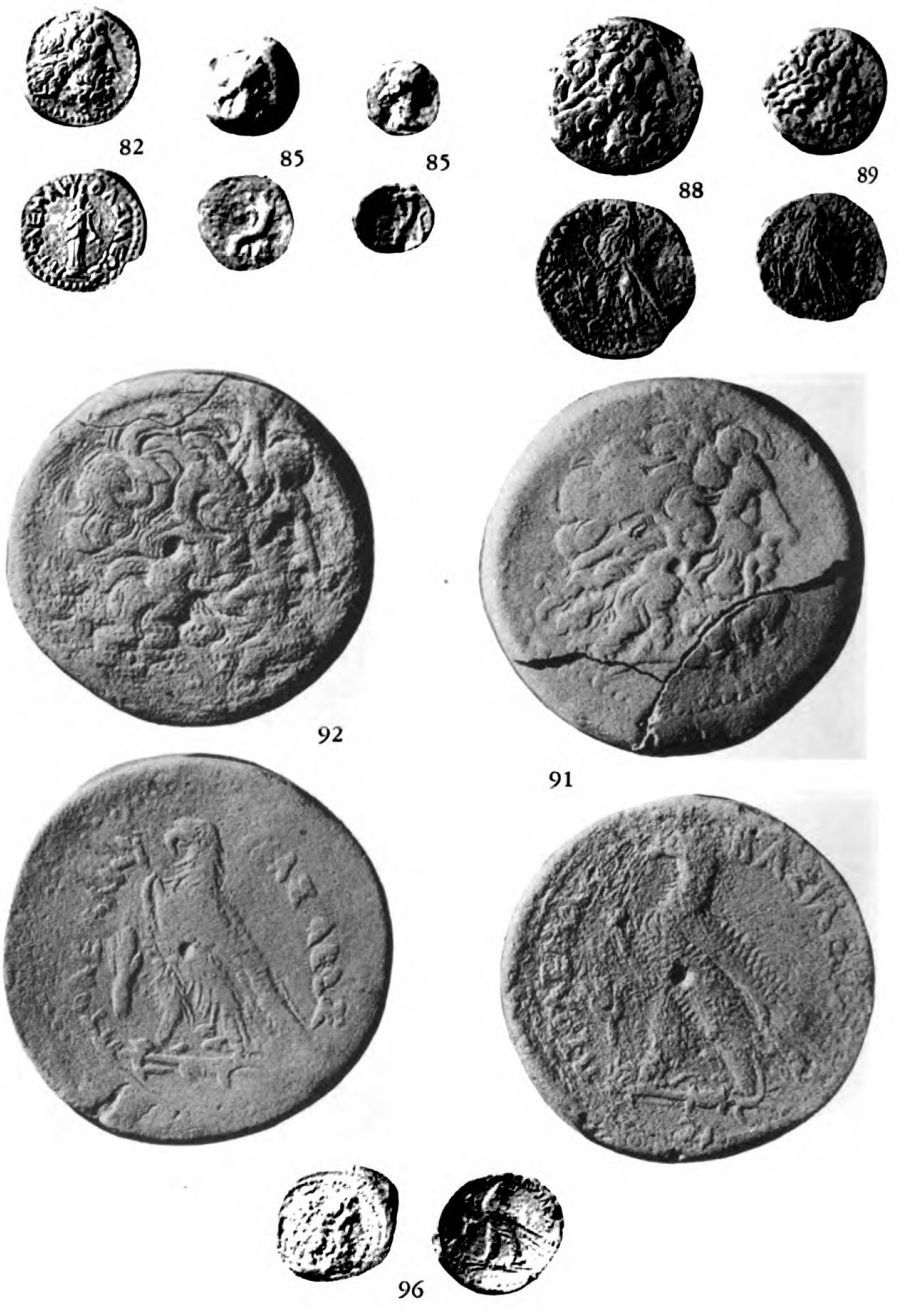
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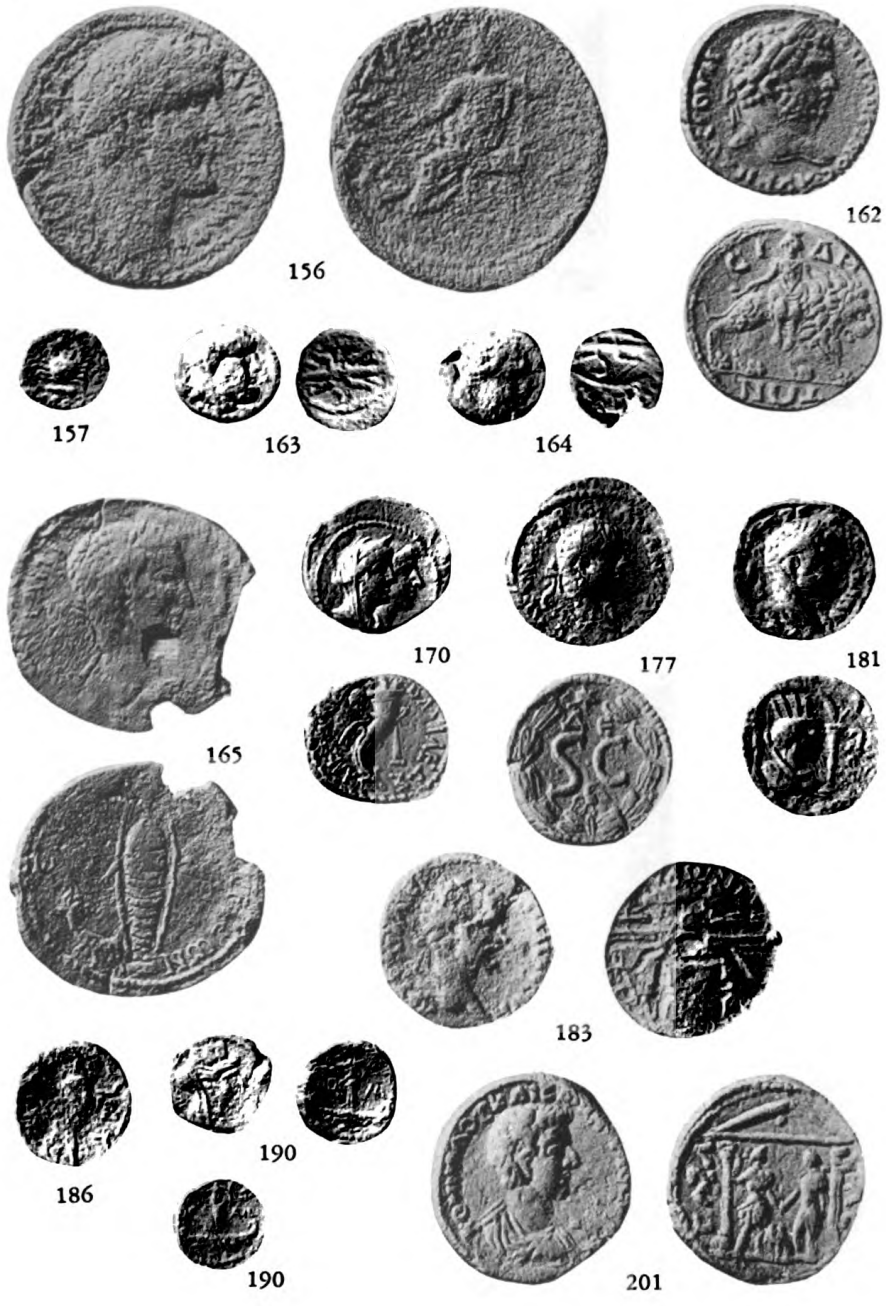


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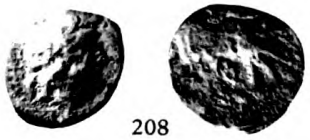


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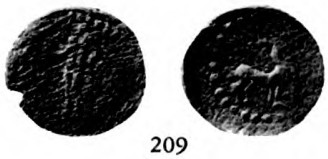
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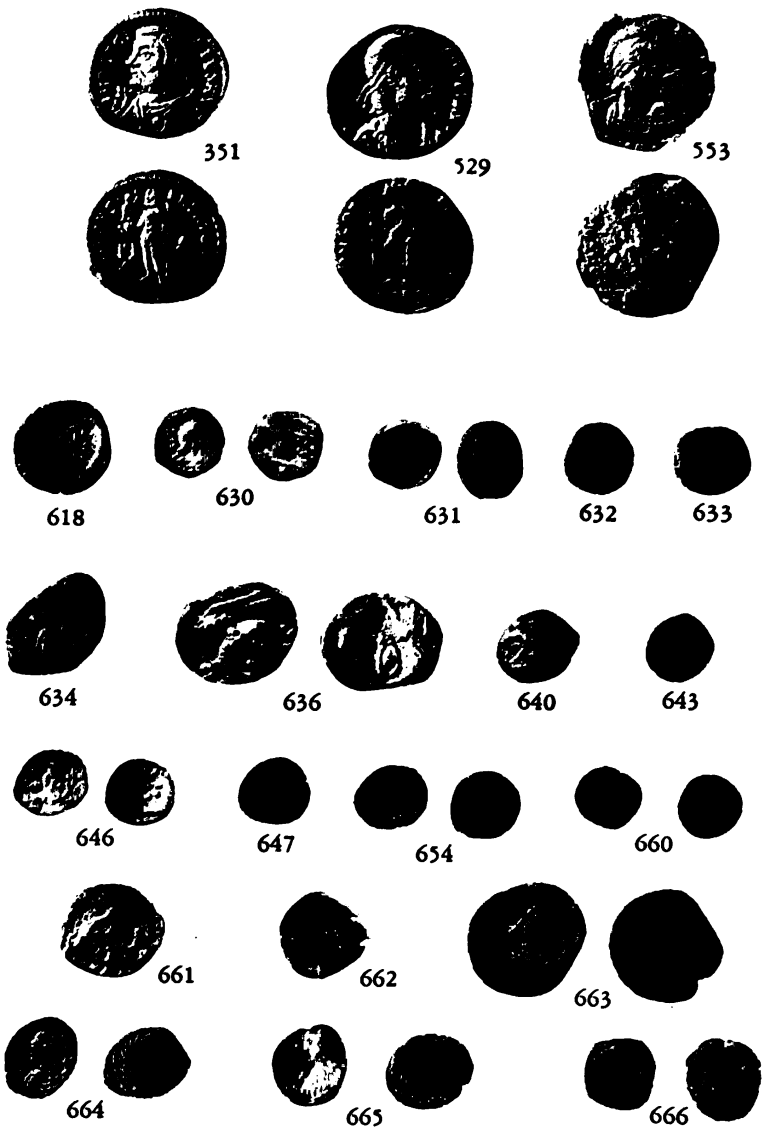
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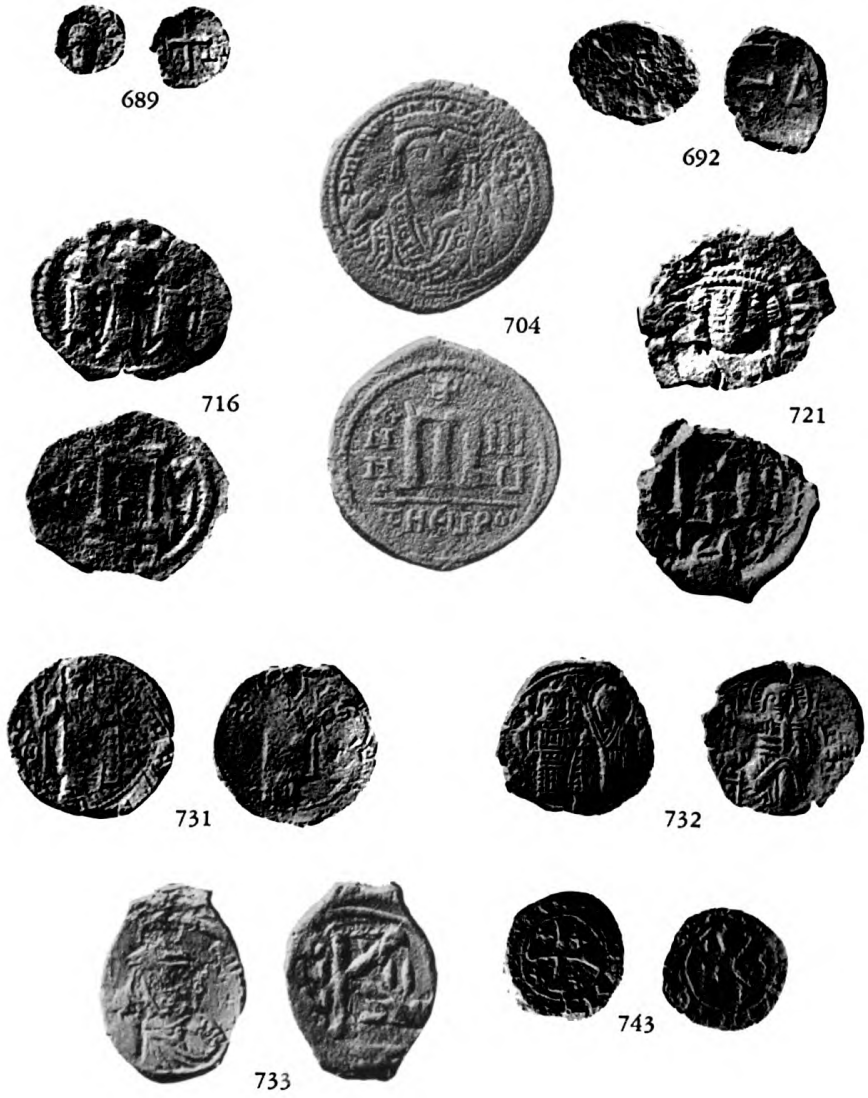
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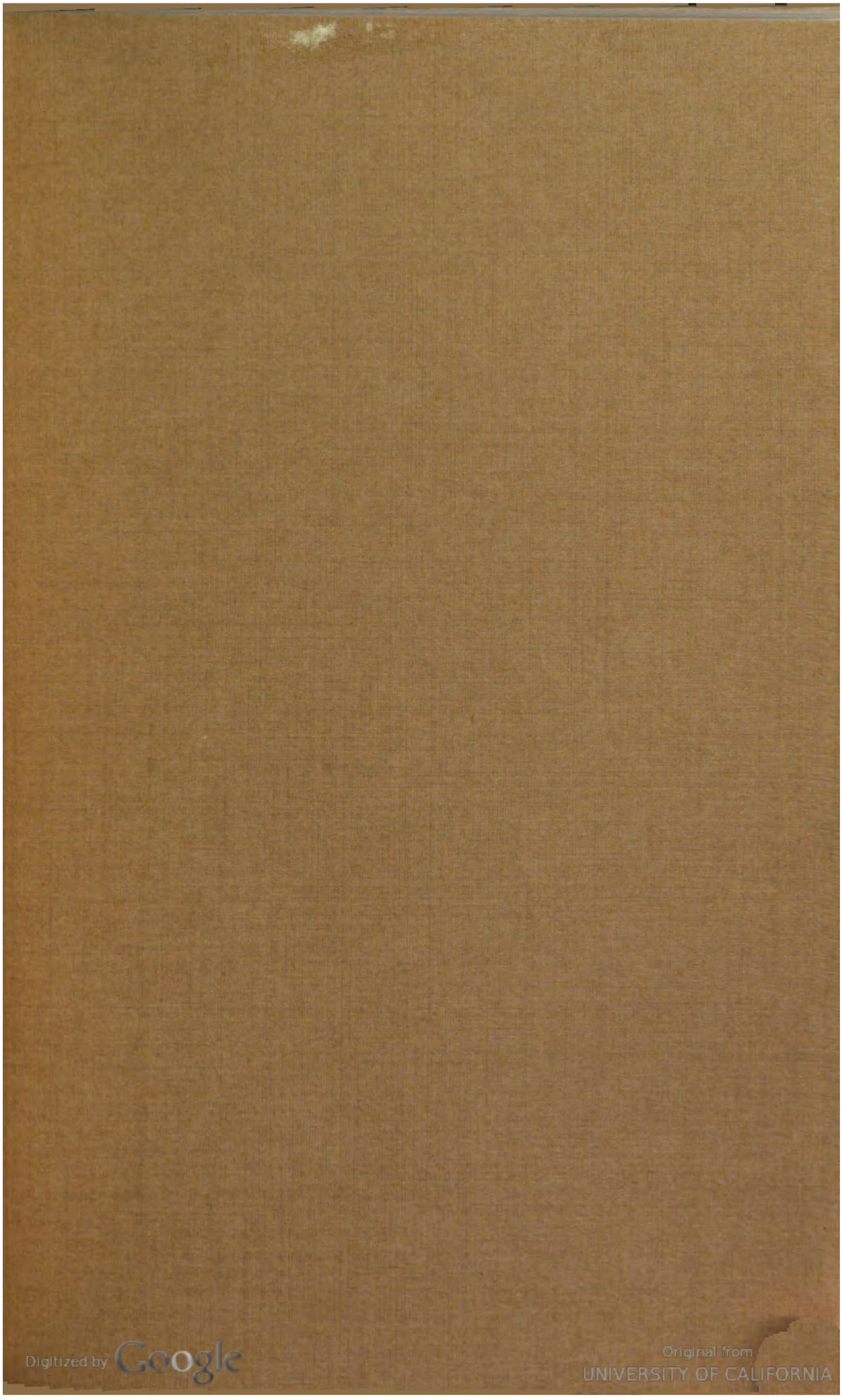


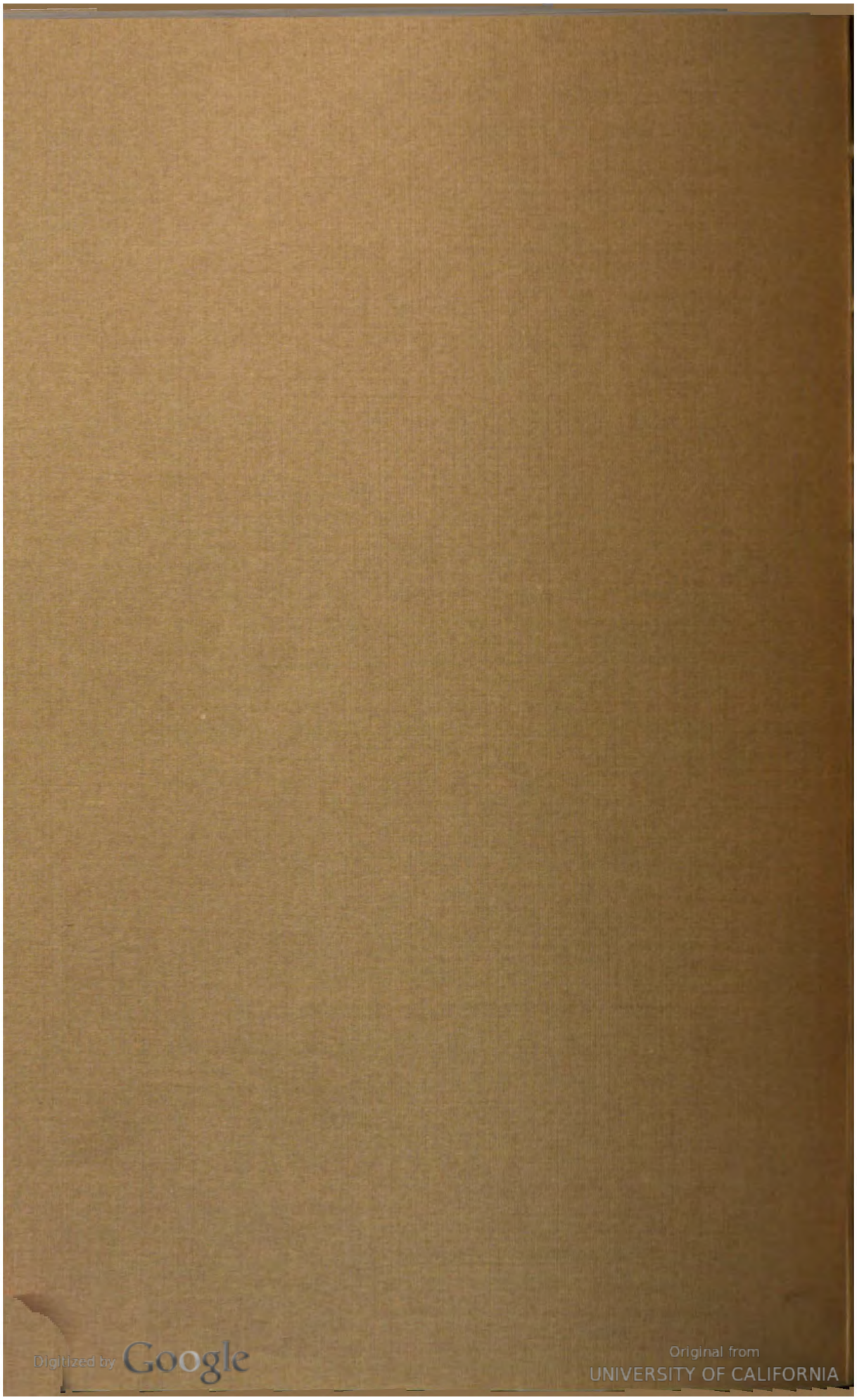
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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS
No. 146

STUDIES IN CONSTANTINIAN CHRONOLOGY

By PATRICK BRUUN



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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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By PATRICK BRUUN



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CIL — Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

CIust — Codex Iustinianus ed. P. Krüger.

Codex Iustinianus cf. CIust.

Codex Theodosianus cf. CTh.

Consularia Constantinopolitana cf. Chronica minora.

CTh — Codex Theodosianus ed. Mommsen-Meyer.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANS — American Numismatic Society
CIL — Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CSEL — Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
JEA — Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEH — Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JRS — Journal of Roman Studies
NC — Numismatic Chronicle
NZ — Numismatische Zeitschrift
RE — Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften ed. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll
REA — Revue des Études Anciennes
RIC — Roman Imperial Coinage
ZN — Zeitschrift für Numismatik

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KEY TO REVERSE DESCRIPTIONS

adv. — advancing
capt. — captive
coll. — collection
crown. — crowned or crowning
diad. — diademed
dragg. — dragging
drap. — draped
Emp. — Emperor
erect. — erecting
Jup. — Jupiter
kneel. — kneeling
l. — left
laur. — laureate
leg. — legend
m.m. — mintmark
obv. — obverse
pres. — presenting
push. — pushing
r. — right
receiv. — receiving
rev. — reverse
seat. — seated
sol. — solidus
stand. — standard
stg. — standing
support. — supported
turr. — turreted
Vict. — Victory
w. — with

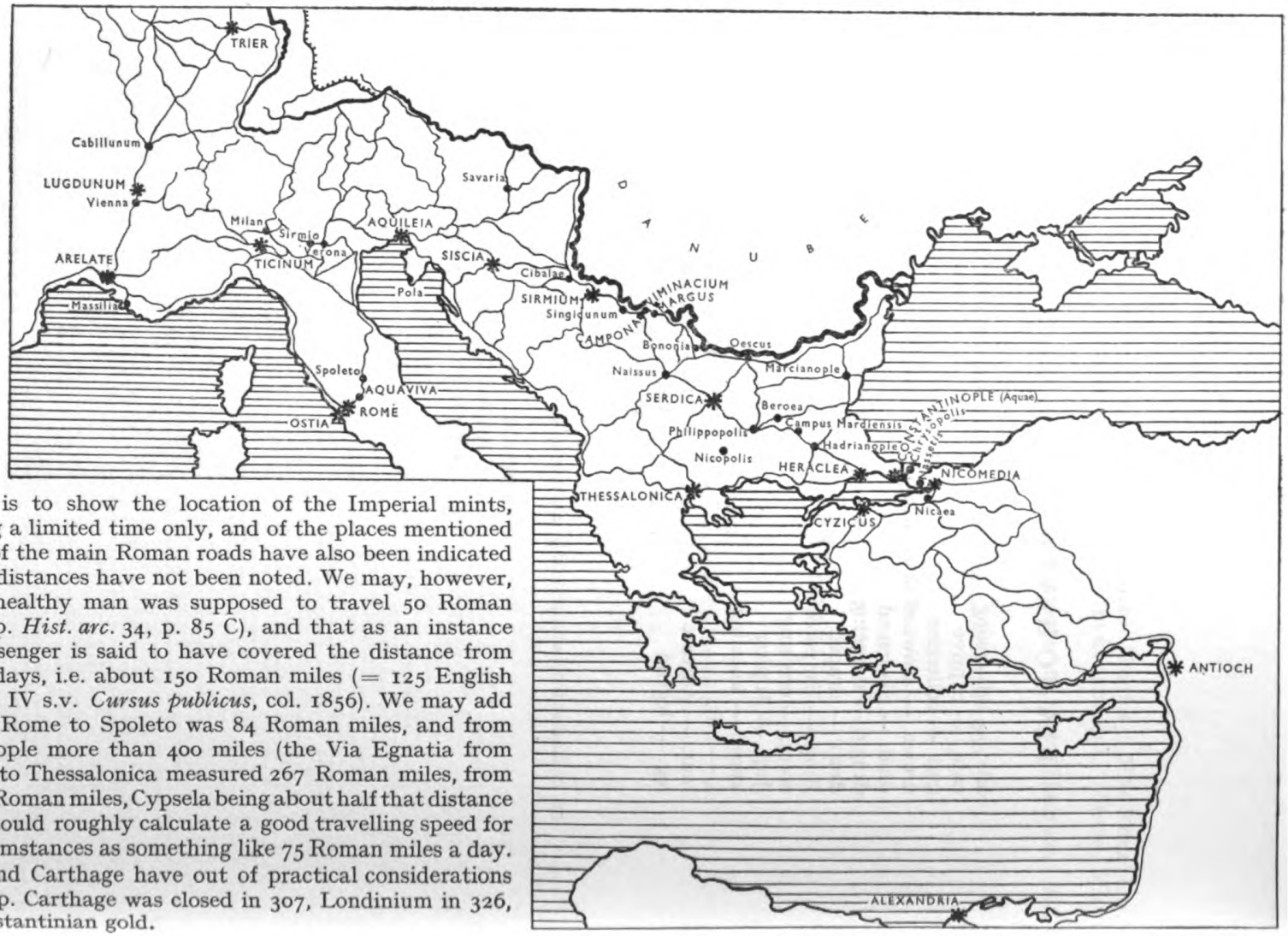
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MAP

SHOWING MINT CITIES, OTHER LOCALITIES AND THE ROMAN ROADS



✱ = Mint
• = Other locality

The purpose of this map is to show the location of the Imperial mints, some of which were working a limited time only, and of the places mentioned in the constitutions. Some of the main Roman roads have also been indicated on the map, but the actual distances have not been noted. We may, however, record that a strong and healthy man was supposed to travel 50 Roman miles a day on foot (Procop. *Hist. arc.* 34, p. 85 C), and that as an instance of exceptional speed a messenger is said to have covered the distance from Aquileia to Rome in three days, i.e. about 150 Roman miles (= 125 English miles) a day (cf. Seeck, RE IV s.v. *Cursus publicus*, col. 1856). We may add that e.g. the distance from Rome to Spoleto was 84 Roman miles, and from Thessalonica to Constantinople more than 400 miles (the Via Egnatia from Dyrrachium at the Adriatic to Thessalonica measured 267 Roman miles, from Thessalonica to Cypsela 268 Roman miles, Cypsela being about half that distance from Constantinople). We could roughly calculate a good travelling speed for the Emperor in normal circumstances as something like 75 Roman miles a day. The mints of Londinium and Carthage have out of practical considerations been excluded from the map. Carthage was closed in 307, Londinium in 326, and neither struck any Constantinian gold.

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I. INTRODUCTION[1]

Contemporary history is always written by the victors, by the conquerors. When posterity treads the laborious path to truth in an attempt to find out *wie es eigentlich gewesen* — to quote the famous words of Ranke — great difficulties lie ahead. The written account, biased already when conceived, leads us astray. The chronicles with their unimaginative lists of sundry events and officials, compiled by industrious clerks and civil servants, had a long way to go before they reached the present day editions. The record which confronts us is the product of many rounds of mechanical copying in the monasteries, where the eye of a monk all too easily missed a line and thus created a chronological confusion.

In discussing the reign of Constantine the Great, one of the great watersheds of history, out of which was to emerge Western Christian

[1] The main results of these studies were presented in two lectures at the 1960 Summer Seminar of the American Numismatic Society of New York. I am greatly indebted to the Society, and particularly to its former president, Mr. Louis C. West and to its Executive Director, Mr. Sawyer McA. Mosser, not only for encouraging the preparation of these studies for publication, but also for the stimulating experience I gained at the Seminar. Prof. A. R. Bellinger, Chairman of the ANS Publications' Committee, has read through the typescript more than once with keeneyed criticism. I am much obliged to him for numerous suggestions arising out of his familiarity with the subject matter and his demands for lucidity in presentation. Mr. George Kustas of Buffalo University, kindly read the manuscript and corrected its English. For this I want to express my sincere gratitude. However, it goes without saying that the author is solely responsible for the views expressed and the errors remaining in this volume. My thanks are also due to the staff of the ANS for friendly co-operation during the process of finishing the typescript and producing the plates. Mr. R. A. G. Carson of the British Museum has not only encouraged my research work but also assisted in providing casts for the illustrations.

In the text below references to the actual coins have been made through reference to the numbers of the items listed in the Index of Reverse Legends (comprising the gold coins only). Illustrations have been indicated by inserting the number of the plate together with the number of the rev. leg., e.g. PLATE IV, 100. To avoid confusion the bronze coins illustrated have been accorded letters instead of numbers. The corresponding reference will accordingly be e.g. PLATE III, a. All the bronze coins illustrated are from the ANS collection except the Domitius Alexander coin (Ratto, December 1932, 722).

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Civilization, we are faced with these very difficulties. Yet there is one source, continuous and inexhaustible when treated properly, which can corroborate or refute the eulogies of the panegyrists, namely, the coinage.

Constantine's road to sole-rulership covered a period of eighteen years, from the summer day in 306 when his father's faithful soldiers acclaimed him Augustus in York, to the September day in 324 when he finally, at Chrysopolis, defeated his last opponent, Licinius, his fellow-ruler and rival during thirteen of these years. The triumph of Constantine indubitably was the triumph of the Christian faith, but the question whether the Church would have been persecuted and paganism championed by a victorious Licinius can never be truthfully answered. The school of the Belgian Henri Grégoire, ingeniously claiming Licinius as the true defender of Christianity,[1] and disputing the authenticity of Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*, one of the main sources for the history of the Constantinian epoch, has by now suffered defeat.[2] Nevertheless, it would be wrong to accept at their face value all the accusations directed against Licinius by the supporters of Constantine. During the last three years of Licinian rule the rupture between East and West was apparent. This period in the East has been named the "last persecution,"[3] though on feeble grounds. Admittedly, the freedom of the Church was curtailed, Christian courtiers, civil servants and officers dismissed, and, possibly owing to over-zealous provincial governors, some adherents of the Church killed. But this does not warrant calling Licinius a persecutor.[4] The religious policy of the years immediately preceding the final clash was an intrinsic part of the general policy of the Emperors; Licinius, indifferent in religious matters, might well have appeared as a sponsor and supporter of Christendom had the wheel of fortune turned the other way.

[1] Grégoire, *Rev. de l'Univ. de Bruxelles* XXXVI, pp. 231–272, lately in *Bull. Acad. Belgique* 1953, pp. 466–483.
[2] A. H. M. Jones, *JEH* V, pp. 196ff., further Aland *Stud. Patr.* I, p. 564 with ref. to Vittinghoff, *Rhein. Mus.* 1953, p. 373 and Telfer, *Stud. Patr.* I pp. 162f.
[3] Cf. Roberto Andreotti's exhaustive study in Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigrafico* IV, fasc. 31–33, pp. 1018ff.
[4] Ibid.

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II. THE BATTLE OF THE MILVIAN BRIDGE

Three battles mark Constantine's progress to supreme power; the Milvian Bridge, Cibalae and Chrysopolis. The first gave him Italy, the second the Balkans, the third the entire East. Now, let us follow him from Trier to Antioch, from a barely accepted Caesarship within the framework of the tetrachic system to acknowledged sovereignty, surrounded by oriental splendor, in the whole Roman empire.

In view of later events we may assume that Constantine from the beginning aspired after something more than a subordinate rank in the Western provinces. The precarious position of Constantine and Maxentius drew the rulers of Gaul and Italy together, and the alliance was confirmed through the agency of the old Herculius when Constantine in 307 was married to Fausta and encouraged to assume the title of Augustus. A year later Maximian, ambitious of power but failing to discharge Maxentius, was expelled from Rome and forced to seek refuge with Constantine.[1] The relations between Trier and Rome were broken, but about the same time Maxentius' attention was distracted from the Gallic scene by the usurpation of Domitius Alexander in Africa.

The two following years may be described as a time of gathering storms. The quiet was broken when, as the story goes, the old conspirator Maximian was found responsible for an attempt on

[1] The chronology of these events is not undisputed. I have here accepted the theory propounded by Seston (La conférence de Carnuntum et le "dies imperii" de Licinius, *Röm. Forsch. in Niederösterreich* III, 1956, pp. 178ff.) which breaks away from the traditional adherence to Lactantius' account, more closely follows Zosimus, and enables us to restrict the number of Maximian's visits to Gaul to two. According to Seston the conference at Carnuntum, a much less elaborate meeting with Diocletian than has usually been believed, took place in 307, when Licinius was charged with the reconquest of Italy, whereas the rank of Augustus was conferred upon him only a year later. Cf. also Dr. Kent's arguments in *NC* 1957, pp. 21ff. Andreotti, op. cit., p. 982, does not entirely accept Seston's theory, but concedes that preliminary discussions might have taken place before November 308, though not earlier than the Spring 308.

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Constantine's life. In 310 he was killed, or killed himself, in besieged Massilia.[1]

This event was probably the signal for a major change in the political constellations. The filial devotion of Maxentius flared up once more and, according to literary sources, he was resolved to avenge his father's death.[2] The African usurper, however, prevented him from taking instant action. In these circumstances Constantine and Domitius Alexander naturally formed an alliance, the evidence of which can be found on the African milestone mentioning these two Augusti only.[3] At the same time, possibly a little later, Constantine appears to have broken the isolation of Gaul in Europe; both Licinius and Daza are depicted on the coin obverses of this time.[4] The consent of Licinius was of paramount importance to Constantine when engaged in a war for supremacy in Italy. A ruler *de facto* since 307, *de iure* since 308, and specifically charged with the reconquest of Italy,[5] Licinius might in ordinary circumstances have been reluctant to accept Constantine's interference south of the Alps, but in 310 Galerius was taken seriously ill[6] and the stakes in the prosperous East were higher than those in the West. Both Licinius and Daza concentrated on the future division of the Eastern provinces, and the West was left to settle its disputes on its own. The fact that after the death of Galerius Daza captured Asia, reached the Bosporus and was halted only by the arrival of his rival[7] demonstrates how far-sighted Licinius had been.

Thus the stage was set. Maxentius made the first move and in early 311 dispatched Rufius Volusianus to cope with the rebellion

[1] Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* I 1, pp. 86f., particularly I 2, p. 454 with relevant notes and references.

[2] The statues of Constantine were overthrown in Italy (Seeck, *Untergang* I[4], p. 118). Cf. also Stein, *Histoire* I 1, p. 87, who does not exclude the possibility that Maximian in accord with Maxentius had acted against Constantine.

[3] *CIL* VIII 22183 = Dessau 8976.

[4] Fabre-Mainjonet, in their account of the Montbuoy hoard (*Gallia*, Suppl. XII, p. 145) show how Gaul was isolated from the rest of the Empire at least in the year 310. The hoard does not show the subsequent trend. One would have expected the isolation to have been reflected in the hoard some years earlier. Note that Constantine did not accept the Eastern consuls of the years 309–310.

[5] Andreotti, op. cit., p. 985.

[6] Cf. Lactantius 33, 1 ff., also Andreotti, op. cit., p. 985.

[7] Lactantius 36, 1. 2.

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in Africa.[1] At the same time that tension grew in the East, Galerius' condition was rapidly deteriorating. In the spring of 311 Constantine celebrated his second *quinquennalia* in Trier and struck, among other reverses, the exceptional type SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI in gold at Trier (PLATE I, 201–2).

The date of this gold type can be established with a high degree of certainty. The early Treveran gold portraits of Constantine are very distinct in character; after the very first coins naming Constantine Caesar,[2] we get a series of solidi of small module, thick flan, and high relief. The minting of this kind of solidus comes to an end when, shortly after the decisive victory at Pons Milvius, Trier discontinues its gold series and Constantinian gold minting is concentrated in Italy, first at Rome and Ostia, later at Ticinum. Gold coining was resumed at Trier only towards the end of 313, possibly not before 314, and then with coins of distinctly thinner flans and larger module.[3]

Now the second group of Constantinian obverses can be classified chronologically, and the systematic arrangement shows the coins with the obverse legend CONSTAN-TINVS PF AVG (PLATE I, 201) to be of earlier date, the coins with the obverse legend CONSTANTI-NVS PF AVG (PLATE I, 202) to be later. By a stroke of luck the chronological dividing line between these two kinds of obverse breaks can be dated to Constantine's quinquennial year, because a part of the obverses of the type VOTIS V MVLTIS X/VICTORIA AVG has the break N-T (PLATE I, 312), another part the break I-N (PLATE I, 313). The coins of the type SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI can be grouped in the same way.[4]

[1] Salama's contention ("A propos de L'usurpateur africain L. Domitius Alexander," *Bulletin van de Vereniging tot bevordering der kennis van de antieke beschaving te's-Gravenhage* XXIX, 1954, pp. 72f.) that the rebellion of Domitius Alexander was suppressed very soon after the rupture with the old Herculius (in 309) depends on a gross misinterpretation of the coin evidence. He finds support in Laffranchi's study of the Aquileian bronzes, *Numismatica* XIII, 1947, pp. 17–20. For a correct evaluation of the coins, cf. Cathy E. King, "The Maxentian Mints," *NC* 1959, Conspectus on p. 78.

[2] Maria Alföldi, "Die constantinische Goldprägung in Trier," *Jhrb. f. Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* IX, 1958, pp. 102f.

[3] Cf. pp. 8, 48f. below.

[4] Cf. my "The Battle of the Milvian Bridge," *Hermes*, 1960, pp. 366f. When staying at the BM in early 1960 and discussing the proofs of that paper with Mr. Carson and Dr. Kent, the latter informed me that he had arrived at the

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Thus it remains to establish when the Constantinian *quinquennalia* were celebrated. The point of departure for the reckoning of regnal years was the *natalis imperii* of the ruler, regardless of the title conferred upon him on his ascent to the throne. With regard to Constantine the situation is unusually complicated. His original *dies imperii*, regularly celebrated in later years, was July 25th. The realization of the weakness of his position — the very fact which led him to accept the early alliance with Maximian and Maxentius — made him to a certain extent dependent on his allies. Thus he appears to have accepted the title of Augustus from Maximian on the occasion of his marriage to Fausta, although he seems to have delayed using it for some time.[1] March 31, 307 was thus considered his *natalis imperii*[2] until the conquest of Italy; when the Roman senate conferred upon him the title of *Maximus Augustus*, he can be supposed to have resumed his original *natalis* and *dies imperii*. His *quinquennalia*, however, would have been celebrated according to the earlier reckoning, on March 31, 311 and 312.

We return now to the legend SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. The reading was no novelty, but it had scarcely been in use since the days of Trajan.[3] A slogan revived after 200 years is not commonplace, but in this context two additional facts enable us to appreciate the true significance of this issue. The first is that the same type was struck by the usurper Domitius Alexander (PLATE I, a) in Africa.[4] This can be no mere coincidence. Clearly we have here another piece of evidence of the alliance between Gaul and Africa. But let us take the other fact, the fact that the type SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI was struck in two mints Trier and Carthage, out of reach of the Senate. The

same conclusion with regard to the chronological significance of the observe breaks. The coins of the BM are now arranged accordingly.

[1] Cf. King, *NC* 1959, pp. 56f., also note 5, and *ANS Museum Notes* IX, 1960, pp. 119, 126f., 130, 136 maintaining that Constantine could not have assumed the title of Augustus before July 25, 307.

[2] Seston, *REA* 1937, pp. 197ff., Kent, "Pattern," Appendix II, pp. 74–77.

[3] Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 153, Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues*, p. 149. Cf. Cohen VIII², Index p. 436, records also SPQR coins of Septimius Severus, all of them of the *Adventus* type (*RIC* IV, pp. 82, 113, 147) and of Gallienus (not in *RIC* V 1). Cohen V² nos. 998ff. records them all as being of the reverse type with the leg. in laur. wreath. The type with 3 standards, however, was not struck after the reign of Trajan (Maria Alföldi, "Trier," p. 107).

[4] Kent, "Pattern" no. 589, cf. also Grant, loc. cit.

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implication of the type is that the Senate pays homage to an Emperor (Constantine or Alexander) on the verge of war or actually engaged in a war with the master of the Senate (Maxentius)! Therefore, there is but one way of interpreting the evidence of the coins, namely that Constantine and, accordingly, his African ally, had reached an understanding with the Senate or with an opposition faction of the Senate. In itself this is not surprising, for we have ample proof of senatorial discontent with the tyrant of Rome.[1]

Thus the Treveran gold coins of the type SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI have given us the ramifications of the Italian campaign of Constantine and, indeed, the date: the spring 311 instead of the generally accepted year 312. We conclude that the battle of the Milvian Bridge was fought one year earlier than traditionally has been believed.[2] Additional numismatic evidence can be brought forward in support of this.

One of the primary literary sources of the events of these years is Lactantius' *De mortibus persecutorum*. Lactantius remarks "*Imminebat dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est a. d. sextum Kalendas Novembres, et quinquennalia terminabantur.*"[3] Now the quinquennial celebrations were concluded in 311; Mommsen, however, escaped the difficulty by explaining that the starting point for the reckoning of Maxentius' regnal years must have been October 307 when, according to the great German scholar, he assumed the title of Augustus.[4] This day, not the day of his usurpation, should have been regarded as his *natalis imperii*, Mommsen maintained. In the light of recent research concerning the Maxentian coinages, his views have to be revised.[5]

Of the Maxentian mints Carthage was closed before Constantine had been given the title of Augustus, but on the two last issues of

[1] Groag, *RE* XIV, col. 2454.
[2] I have dealt with the literary evidence in my "The Battle of the Milvian Bridge," *Hermes* 1960, pp. 361–365.
[3] Lactantius 44, 4.
[4] In comments to Philocalus' Calendar, *CIL* I, p. 405.
[5] Sutherland, "The Folles of Ticinum," *NC* 1954, pp. 68ff., Carson-Kent, *NC* 1956, particularly pp. 106–117, Kent, "Pattern," pp. 19ff., and King, op. cit., pp. 53f., 56f., 61, 67, 69.

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the mint Maxentius appears as Augustus (on the $\frac{H|ER}{A}$, $\frac{SE|F}{A}$ first as *Princeps Invictus*).[1] Similarly the co-ordinated issues of Ticinum, Aquileia and Rome show the rulers as Maxentius Augustus and Constantinus Caesar, respectively.[2] The subsequent issues from these three mints are the last before the break between Herculius and Constantine on the one hand and Maxentius on the other, and record Constantine as Augustus.[3] The mint of Carthage was closed at the time and had not as yet been reopened in Ostia. We can see that when the mint of Carthage closed in Spring 307, Maxentius had used the title of Augustus for some time (the duration of almost two mintmarks).[4] Again, this proves his *natalis imperii* to have been 306, not 307 as Mommsen believed.

The Maxentian coins imply that Maxentius was defeated in 311. Some Constantinian gold coins suggest the presence of Constantine in Rome not later than March 312, namely, the VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP, coins of thick flan and small module with, exclusively, VOT X (PLATE I, 274) in Rome, VOT X (275) and VOT PR (PLATE I, 276) at Ticinum.[5] The VOT X coins must have been struck in the course of Constantine's quinquennial year which ended in the Spring of 312. This means that the vota were *suscepta*. To regard the vota as *soluta* and, accordingly, the coins as having been struck in 315/316 is impossible, because coins *vot(is)x(solutis) mul(tis)xx (susceptis)* of entirely different module and fabric were struck at Ticinum in the course of the decennial year (PLATE I, 212; III, 214), and these coins were clearly preceded by coins of similarly large module struck to Constantine's fourth consulship in 315 (PLATE III, 72).[6] I should therefore interpret the evidence of the VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP solidi as follows: The type was created at Trier with VOT PR on the vota shield, i.e., prior to the initial quin-

[1] King, op. cit., p. 61, Carson-Kent, p. 116.
[2] King, op. cit., p. 69 hesitates to accept these issues as co-ordinated. The pattern is nevertheless quite clear.
[3] King, op. cit., pp. 53, 56f., 69f.
[4] King, op. cit., p. 61.
[5] Cf. "The Battle of the Milvian Bridge," p. 366.
[6] A. Alföldi, *JRS* 1932, p. 17 also realized this, although he did not evaluate the significance of his observation, cf. "The Battle of the Milvian Bridge," p. 366.

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quennial celebrations, as a part of the billon triad celebrating the alliance or understanding between Daza, Licinius, and Constantine,[1] in advance of the Italian campaign. Shortly after the war in Italy gold coinage ceased in Trier. By that time the first Constantinian gold coins had been issued at Rome. The interesting point is that exclusively Treveran prototypes were used (the same applies to the mint of Ostia).[2] Only in early 312 were the first solidi struck at Ticinum, among them the VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP, before the expiration of the quinquennial year with VOT X, after Constantine's *dies imperii*, with VOT PR. Whether the gold coins of Ticinum are indicative of Constantine's presence in Northern Italy at the time is difficult to say, but it is quite likely. The other contemporaneous types are no mere repetitions of earlier Roman reverses, but to a large extent new creations. After the conference at Milan the Ticinese gold issues were discontinued; Constantine returned to Gaul and Trier once more became the mint responsible for the coining of gold.[3]

[1] The series of analyses of the metallic contents of these so called billon coins, not yet completed at the moment of writing, suggests the possibility that the whole series was a normal bronze series. The *Iovi conservatori aug* and the *Victoriae laetae princ perp* would have been struck after Civil War I, whereas the Daza coins of the rev. *Soli invicto comiti* should be regarded as ½-folles struck before Mid-313. It should be noted that the two former types were struck in two *officinae*, the latter in one off. only, and that the A|S series was the first to be struck in two off. And then, until well after Civil War I, the off. were marked A and B, whereas the *Iovi conservatori aug* and *Victoriae laetae princ perp* both have the off. mark P and S. If this suggestion is correct, the gold rev. *Victoriae laetae princ perp* would have been a creation of the mint of Rome and this would, in fact, strengthen my contention that the coins had been struck in the course of the decennial year. I propose to return to this question in the forthcoming volume of Roman Imperial Coinage (vol. VII). Cf. also note 1, p. 49 below.

[2] "The Milvian Bridge," p. 366 and pp. 48 f. below.

[3] Maria Alföldi, "Trier," pp. 105–111 mistakenly assumes a steady flow of gold from the Treveran mint at this time, although she (p. 102) remarks for the first period of Constantinian gold coining that *Die Goldprägung erfolgte . . . stossweise.*

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III. THE BELLUM CIBALENSE

I. THE WESTERN MINTS

Let us now proceed to the *Bellum Cibalense*. In the seventeenth century the date of this war was established by Gothofredus as 314.[1] When arranging the bronze coins of Arelate some years ago, I found it impossible to accept this dating because of the evidence of the coins; 316 appeared to be a much more likely time for the first war between Constantine and Licinius. A study of the literary sources supported my theory, though not unanimously;[2] other scholars have in the meantime shown that the year 316 in actual fact is the only date compatible with all the sources.[3]

After studying the Arelate coinage I had an opportunity of working through the coinages of all other mints. Therefore, I propose to demonstrate how the coins in no single mint speak against the redating of the Bellum Cibalense, and in several instances permit no other conclusion.

Let us start with Arelate. We know that the mint was created as a substitute for Ostia, and that the personnel of the Ostian mint was moved to Southern Gaul,[4] with the possible exception of some skilled die-cutters sent to Ticinum.[5] The time can be established roughly as shortly after the break of relations between Constantine and Licinius on the one hand and Daza on the other, i.e., any time after the conference at Milan in early 313. The exact time when the mint of Ostia

[1] Habicht, *Hermes* 1958, p. 360.

[2] *The Constantinian Coinage of Arelate*, pp. 17–22, the main difficulty being the text of the Consularia Constantinopolitana (*Chron.* I, p. 231).

[3] Particularly Habicht, *Hermes* 1958, pp. 360–370. Andreotti, op. cit., p. 1002 while accepting the validity of the assumption of a conflict in 316, maintains that hostilities broke out for the first time in 314. The joint consulship of Constantine and Licinius would thus have been a sign of a temporary settlement before New Year 315.

[4] *Arelate*, p. 3.

[5] A. Alföldi, "The Initials of Christ on the Helmet of Constantine," *Studies in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson* 1951, pp. 303–311 obviously is wrong when assuming that the best of the die-cutters were transferred to Rome and Ticinum.

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was closed cannot be ascertained, but Daza is adequately represented on all Ostian issues.[1] Now my British colleagues have argued that Arelate must have started working in mid-314, immediately before the Civil War I, traditionally fixed to the same year.[2] Thus the war would not have made any impact on the coinage of this mint. Their main argument appears to be that about a year was required for the transfer of the mint of Carthage to Ostia and that an opening date of 313 at Arelate "presupposes an operational celerity not evinced in the earlier move."[3] It is, however, quite clear that Messrs. Carson and Kent have exaggerated the duration of the transfer of the African mint to Italy. Miss Cathy E. King has pointed out in her closely argued study of the Maxentian mints that the closure of Carthage must have been later than the British team supposed,[4] and that the reopening of the mint in Ostia took place almost six months earlier than they had thought.[5] Applied to Arelate this means that minting must have started well before the New Year's Day in 314; not even a start in the summer 313 should be considered impossible.[6]

This, of course, is conjecture based on an estimate of the duration of the transfer of the Ostian mint. The coins themselves are much

[1] *Arelate*, p. 4, coin lists pp. 58ff. Messrs. Carson and Kent accordingly point out that Ostia must have been working in Mid-April (p. 117). They refer to a letter by St. Augustine (Ep. 88,2, not 82,2 as given by Carson-Kent). St. Augustine, however, records a letter by the *proconsul Africae* Anicius Anulinus to Constantine, dated April 15, 313, in Carthage (as to the genuineness of the letter, cf. H. Kraft, *Kaiser Konstantins religiöse Entwicklung*, pp. 32ff., particularly p. 33, note 2). But the letter is not valid evidence in this context; it only shows that the news of the impending war had not reached Carthage by Mid-April. If this were the only evidence and the argument otherwise sound, Ostia might have ceased coining in March, if not earlier. It seems that the controversy regarding the time of the transfer of the Ostian mint to Arelate is a point of academic interest only. The fact that Daza appears to be present in all issues proves that coining easily could have been discontinued before Daza's disappearance from the obv., but not later than the last date when Daza can be attested as Augustus, acknowledged in the West (April 15, 313 in the inscription *CIL* VI, 507 preserved by Cyriacus Anconitanus Parm., and recording the third consulships of Constantine and Daza).

[2] Carson-Kent, pp. 116f.

[3] Ibid.

[4] King, op. cit., p. 62.

[5] King, op. cit., cf. Conspectus on p. 78.

[6] Cf. note 1 above.

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more outspoken, regardless of the fact that of the early series comprising mainly the reverse types MARTI CONSERVATORI and SOLI INVICTO COMITI, the date of two coins only can be definitely assessed as 315, namely, two consular coins marked PARL and $\frac{S|F}{PARL}$.[1] On the other hand the sequence of mintmarks is established beyond doubt as PARL, $\frac{S|F}{PARL}$, $\frac{T|F}{PARL}$, $\frac{TF|*}{PARL}$, followed by the three issues marked with M|F in the field.[2] Again, the three (?) issues marked with R|F comprising the first coins of the Caesars are firmly connected with the M|F series,[3] the very series illustrating the conflict with Licinius as Licinius disappears from the obverses in the course of the first series and is absent from the two following. This conflict immediately preceded the nomination of the Caesars (officially confirmed at the settlement at Serdica on March 1, 317). The absence of Licinius from certain series cannot be due to pure chance, as the coins preserved to our days are fairly numerous. Of the $\frac{M|F}{PARL}$ mark a single Licinius obverse is known against 27 Constantinian; for the subsequent $\frac{M|F}{ARLP}$ my material contains 6, for the $\frac{M|F}{ARLA}$ mark 31 obverses of Constantine. The ratio of Constantinian to Licinian obverses for the other pre-317 marks is

PARL 78/31 (15/7 63/24)

$\frac{S|F}{PARL}$ 50/22

$\frac{T|F}{PARL}$ 19/3

$\frac{TF|*}{PARL}$ 55/31

Except for the T|F issue we have a substantial representation of Licinian obverses. Assuming for the sake of argument that Arelate started coining in mid-314, and that Civil War I was fought in 314,

[1] *Arelate*, pp. 17, 64, 66.
[2] *Arelate*, pp. 23f., Carson-Kent, pp. 117f.
[3] *Arelate*, pp. 24f.

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as the British scholars contend, we are faced with the inexplicable fact that Constantine throughout the war and the preliminaries to the war faithfully remembered his adversary on the coins, but a couple of years later, when peace ruled the Empire, ignored his fellow-ruler. The short series of PARL coins (with large flans and with the long obverse legend IMP C CONSTANTINVS PF AVG) undoubtedly struck before the consular coins of 315 marked PARL,[1] actually have a higher ratio of Licinian obverses than the second part of this issue with short obverse legends (15/7 and 63/24, respectively).

It is time to leave Arelate and continue to the other Western mints. Londinium, strangely enough, remained completely unaffected by the events, and regularly coined Licinian obverses up to the settlement at Serdica; but almost as an afterthought the Licinii do not appear on the coins after the war at all, obviously an indication of the isolated position of the British Isles.[2]

Trier reacts differently to the political development. Licinius disappears well in advance of the coinage with the Caesars, to reappear only in the course of the VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP coinage, about 319–320. The highly complicated system of coining makes it difficult to discover the exact point at which Licinius was eliminated from the coinage. From the death of Daza Licinius is well represented on the issues marked $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$ and $\frac{A|S}{PTR}$ (the first *2-officinae* issue). An analysis of the following series with $\underline{T|F}$ in the field and the *officinae* marked A and B, reveals a highly elaborate system,[3] and proves the Civil War to have immediately preceded the nomination of the Caesars. The sequence of issues was

(i) $\frac{T|F}{ATR}, \frac{T|F}{BTR}$ a. first part comprising

1. *Soli invicto comiti*, Sol stg. l. (PLATE I, c–d)	Constantine
2. *Marti conservatori*, Mars stg. r. (PLATE II, e–f)	
3. *Genio pop Rom* (PLATE II, g–h)	Licinius

[1] *Arelate*, pp. 15ff.
[2] Kent, "Pattern," pp. 37f.
[3] The system has been outlined in general terms in my "The Disappearance of Sol," *Arctos* 1958, N. S. II, pp. 17ff.

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b. second part comprising

1. off. A *Soli invicto comiti*, Sol stg. l., globe low (PLATE II, i)
2. off. B *Marti conservatori*, Mars stg. r., look. l.

} Constantine

with a later addition of

3. *Claritas reipublicae*, Sol adv. l. (PLATE II, j) Sons of Constantine

(ii) $\frac{T|F}{\cdot ATR}, \frac{T|F}{BTR}$ a. a transitory stage, first part comprising

1. off. · A *Claritas reipublicae*, Sol adv. l.
2. off. B *Claritas reipublicae*, Sol stg. r., look. l.

b. second part comprising

1. *Soli invicto comiti*, off. · A Sol stg. l. (PLATE II, k)
   off. B Sol stg. r., look. l. (PLATE II, l)
2. *Principi iuventutis*, off. · A unbroken rev. leg. (PLATE II, m)
   off. B broken rev. leg. (· I–V)
3. *Claritas reipublicae*, off. · A, B Sol stg. l. (PLATE II, n–o)

The interesting point is that Licinius disappears from the coinage a very short time before the Caesars, i.e., the sons of Constantine, appear, a corroboration of the theory that Constantine elevated his sons to princely rank in advance of the settlement at Serdica.[1]

The gold coinage of Trier also contributes to our understanding of the course of events. In his analysis of the political development of 314–316 the German scholar Chr. Habicht[2] concludes that the plot of Bassianus, which ultimately led to the Civil War I, was contrived shortly after the decennial celebrations on July 25, 315. Now the vota coins struck for Constantine's *decennalia* follow two different formulas, mentioning either a plurality of Augusti (283–5) or simply one Augustus (215–6). Although, at the present state of knowledge, we have no means of telling definitely the internal order of these vota coins, it seems natural to assume that the *decennalia* were celebrated twice, just as ten years later first in Nicomedia, then in Rome, and that the coins with the plural *Augg* were struck in 315, those with the singular *Aug* 316 when the war was imminent.

[1] "The Disappearance of Sol," p. 36, *Arelate*, pp. 25ff., cf. also Habicht *Hermes* 1958, p. 366.
[2] Habicht, op. cit., pp. 374f.

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Moving south to the coins of Lugdunum, we find a mint extremely reluctant to remember Licinius; altogether I have recorded four coins only, all of the type GENIO POP ROM marked $\frac{TF|*}{PLG}$, with the aid of similarly marked consular coins dateable to 315.[1] Thus they give no indication of the date of the war.

The Italian mints constitute no major problem. Ticinum strikes a long sequence of marks with the types *Soli invicto comiti* and *Marti conservatori* of gradually decreasing module, commencing with the short obverse legend and ending with the long obverse legend IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG.[2] The last issue before the nomination of the Caesars was marked $\frac{P|R}{PT}$ and comprised no obverse of Licinius. This mark was of very short duration and, obviously, before the settlement at Serdica superseded by the mark PT, which introduces the types PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS and CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE for the Caesars Crispus and Constantine II, respectively (early 317).[3]

The structure of the coinage of Rome is largely similar. After a great many marks of the Sol coinage depicting both Constantine and Licinius, we find the last marks before the appearance of the Caesars without any Licinian obverses: $\frac{*|\smile}{RP}$ with the unusual reverse legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI DN (and, curtailed, SOLI INVICT COM DN)[4] and RP: SOLI INVICTO COMITI, Sol with captive. The fact that Licinius is represented on a few coins only of the first and very substantial issue with obverses of Crispus and Constantine II once more illustrates that Constantine nominated his sons Caesars prior to the settlement at Serdica.[5]

Aquileia did not coin continuously during the years 313–317; one short issue only was struck without any bearing on our chronological problem. It seems to have been a continuation of the Sol type with captives, struck originally with obverses of all the three Augusti,

[1] Kent, "Pattern," p. 44; the consular coins, cf. Maurice II, pp. 193 f., rev. IV 17.
[2] "The Disappearance of Sol," pp. 21 f., cf. Kent, "Pattern," p. 47.
[3] "The Disappearance of Sol," p. 21.
[4] Kent, "Pattern," pp. 50 f.
[5] "The Disappearance of Sol," pp. 20 f.

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Constantine, Daza and Licinius.[1] The only unusual feature at this early stage is the absence of obverses of Licinius, a very surprising phenomenon, particularly in a mint situated on the border of the Licinian part of the Empire.

2. SISCIA AND THESSALONICA

Civil War I gave Constantine almost all the Licinian territory in Europe, and two new mint cities, Siscia and Thessalonica. The coinage of Siscia is straightforward; the last Licinian gold issues have no obverses of Constantine, the very last actually stressing the singular Augustus[2] and demonstrating that the Western ruler was not accepted by Licinius.

The Licinian bronze coinage similarly ends with a short issue with obverses of Licinius alone.[3] This, however, does not conclusively prove the war to have been fought in 316. If we date the war to 314, we could postulate a discontinuance of coining for the two years between the war and the settlement in Serdica, a solution suggested by Dr. Kent.[4] That this cannot have been the case is shown by the mint of Thessalonica, whose fortunes were different from Siscia in that it remained in the hands of Licinius throughout the war. After the outbreak of the war against Daza we have four series of bronze coins struck at Thessalonica:[5]

[1] Kent, "Pattern," pp. 58f.

[2] The sequence of the last Licinian prewar issues in gold is:

(i) IOVI CONSERVATORI, Emp. holding Victory on globe, m. m. SISC, obv. IMP LICINIVS PF AVG (113) with obv. of Constantine also.

(ii) IOVI CONSERVATORI, as previous, m. m. $\frac{|X}{SIS}$, obv. LICINIVS PF AVG (112), no obverse of Constantine.

(iii) IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG, Emp. holding thunderbolt, m. m. $\frac{|X}{SIS}$, obv. (a) LICINIVS PF AVG (115)
(b) LICINIVS AVGVSTVS (116)

[3] "The Disappearance of Sol," pp. 24f.

[4] Kent, "Pattern," pp. 60f.

[5] Kent, "Pattern," p. 63. Daza actually was eliminated from the coinage in the course of the IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG issue.

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(a) IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG NN
(b) IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG (PLATE II, p–q)
(c) IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG (PLATE II, r)
(d) IOVI CONSERVATORI (PLATE II, s–u)

The sequence of issues is quite clear, and equally clear is the fact that the *Iovi conservatori aug* issue was struck during the hostilities between Constantine and Licinius. The puzzling feature of the sequence is the *Iovi conservatori* with the Constantinian obverses dominant. Dr. Kent dates this type to 317 and presumes a discontinuance of coining between 314 and 317.[1]

The two first of these series were struck in the names of both Constantine and Licinius with Licinius dominating, as is natural. The third had exclusively Licinian obverses, whereas the fourth had both Constantinian and Licinian obverses, the former being predominant. The type remains the same throughout, Jupiter standing holding Victory on globe with an eagle carrying a wreath at his feet.

The puzzling character of the *Iovi conservatori* issue calls for an explanation. Viewed in the light of the events in the theatre of war, the fate of Thessalonica can be interpreted in four different ways:

(i) Civil War fought in 314, Thessalonica ceded to Constantine in 314–315
(ii) War fought in 314, Thessalonica ceded in 317
(iii) War fought in 316, Thessalonica captured during the war
(iv) War fought in 316, Thessalonica ceded in 317

Dr. Kent accepts the first hypothesis and remarks that no bronze coins are attributable to Thessalonica in the years 314–317.[2] This, however, appears to be incorrect as is shown by the gold multiple VICTORIAE LAETAE AVG N/VOT X/MVL XX (PLATE IV, 272) struck to Constantine's *decennalia*. The immediate prototype was the Ticinese medallion VICTORIAE LAETAE AVGG NN/VOT X/MVL XX of exactly the same imagery (PLATE III, 273). Now, supposing that both Ticinum and Thessalonica were in the hands of Constantine during the decennial year (315/316), why should the Emperor have chosen to hail the *concordia* of the Augusti at Ticinum but not in Thessa-

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.

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lonica? It should also be noted that scarcely any other gold pieces are attributable to Thessalonica at so early a juncture.[1] No satisfactory explanation for these extraordinary circumstances can be found.

Should hypothesis (ii) be accepted, we can find no reason for Licinius to discontinue coining after the war in one of his chief mints. The fact that it started working as soon as it fell into the hands of Constantine, proves that the staff had not been evacuated. Two years of inactivity at one of the major mints appears impractical and inexplicable. The probability that Licinius should have struck the *Iovi conservatori* dominated by Constantine at Thessalonica during these years is negligible.

Turning from numismatic surmise to political reality, hypothesis (ii) can be dismissed as impossible. If military operations had ceased in 314 or early 315 and the peace treaty was signed two years afterwards, Constantine must have withdrawn his troops from Licinian territory during the negotiations for peace. It should be remembered that during the campaign he advanced very far into Licinian territory, actually to Philippopolis, thus cutting off his adversary, who had retreated to the northwest in the direction of Beroea,[2] from Macedon and Thessalonica. Now, can we really believe that Constantine gave up this advantageous position, his sole guarantee of gaining anything in the would-be-settlement? The answer is an emphatic "No"!

The disposition of the opposing armies in the theatre of war should be kept in mind when discussing the two remaining possibilities (iii) and (iv), both of which imply that the war was fought in 316. In either case Thessalonica would have been isolated from the Licinian main army during the war, while the Constantinian fleet threatened the communications with its sovereign.[3] In actual fact the problem whether (iii) or (iv) is the correct solution boils down to the question whether Constantine, having gained possession of Thessalonica, continued striking the Licinian *Iovi conservatori* as the Augustan counterpart to the types of the Caesars (PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS, CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE, VIRTVS MILITVM DD NN).

A close examination of the bronze coins shows that the patron of Christianity, who many years earlier broke away from the tetrarchic

[1] Cf. below p. 56.
[2] Anon. Val. 17, Andreotti, op. cit., pp. 1005–1008.
[3] Seeck, *Untergang* I[4], p. 163.

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system, after the war hailed Jupiter his tutelary god. For Constantine two different obverse legends were used in the course of the *Iovi conservatori* issue, namely *Imp Constantinus pf inv aug* (PLATE II, s) and *Imp Constantinus pf aug* (PLATE II, u). Of these obverse legends the former is the earlier; in prewar times Constantine had been depicted as a bearded middle-aged man (the portrait employed was probably a Licinian one), in the earlier part of the *Iovi conservatori* issue we find a broad tetrarchic portrait of a youthful man without beard; in one instance a Licinian portrait with beard is connected with the obverse legend *Imp Constantinus pf inv aug*. This portrait is subsequently superseded by a new, narrow Constantinian portrait, the same portrait we encounter on the first Constantinian gold coins of Thessalonica (PLATE IV, 235), and except for a few instances of the *inv*(*ictus*) obverse legend (PLATE II, s), all these portraits are coupled with the short obverse legend *pf aug* (PLATE II, u).

The pattern is now clear. At Thessalonica a new portrait of Constantine was created in the traditional style, and issued together with obverses of Licinius. The obverse legend for this part of the issue was *Imp Constantinus pf inv aug*. Before the obverse legend was curtailed once more a new Constantinian portrait was created, this time an entirely different one, breaking away from the tetrarchic tradition. It is a fair inference that this happened when Constantine took possession of the city after the settlement at Serdica. At the same time the Licinian obverses disappeared. Expressed in terms of political history this shows that Constantine did not capture Thessalonica during the war, but that the mint city itself during the war tried a policy of appeasing both Constantine (named *invictus*) and its legitimate sovereign Licinius, a very natural reaction for a city in such an awkwardly isolated position as Thessalonica's. After the war the city fell into the hands of Constantine, the tetrarchic portrait was superseded by a new one, gold coining started and Licinius disappeared from the bronze coinage. Thus hypothesis (iv) proves to be the correct solution of our problem.[1]

[1] With regard to the *Iovi conservatori* as struck by Constantine after the war, there is always the possibility that the Jupiter type was continued as an emergency, very much in the same way as anachronistic gold types were issued. But would any mint official have taken the responsibility for this if

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In the Thessalonican coinage there is one more detail to explain, the decennial multiple VICTORIAE LAETAE AVG N. I propose, however, to return to this piece later.[1]

Before continuing with the bronze issues of the Eastern mints, it may be noted that, as regards gold, Siscia is the only mint mirroring Civil War I. The last Licinian gold issue *Iovi conservatori aug* was struck without obverses of Constantine, whereas the preceding issue had depicted both rulers. The exact date of the gold issues is, however, impossible to establish.

3. THE LICINIAN MINTS

Of the five Easternmost mints Cyzicus and Alexandria are of particular interest because of the bronze coins of Valerius Valens struck during Civil War I. In a recent study Mr. Carson has shown that despite the numerous forgeries known, one coin of each mint of all the specimens known appears to be genuine.[2] Dr. Kent, dating the Civil War as 314, and realizing the difficulties involved if these coins be accepted as genuine, prefers to disregard them entirely.[3]

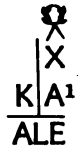
Constantine really was considered Christian or an ardent champion of the Christian faith? We should also note that Constantine was in Thessalonica very shortly after the settlement at Serdica, and that the *Iovi conservatori* must have continued to be struck for some time. The material is abundant and the obv. of curtailed obv. legg. (*pf aug*) appear to be twice as common as the *pf inv. aug* legends. If we assume that the *pf inv aug* were contemporaneous with the Licinian obv., all of them struck at Thessalonica during the war, i.e. during at least 2–3 months, the numerical strength of my material (35 coins of each against about 70 of the obv. leg. *Imp Constantinus pf aug*), suggest that the *Iovi Conservatori*, almost literally struck under the very eyes of Constantine, cannot have lasted a shorter time than the previous series. On the other hand we should note that the presence of the Emperor and the court in the mint city naturally increased the local need of cash, and therefore the intensity of striking. Again, the theory that the *Iovi conservatori* was allowed to continue as an emergency finds little support in the fact that at the same time new types were introduced both for gold and for bronze coining. It is therefore very unlikely that Jupiter appeared on the bronze coins against the intentions of the Emperor.

[1] Cf. below p. 56.

[2] The "Geneva Forgeries," *NC* 1958, pp. 47–58.

[3] Kent, "Pattern," pp. 31, 68, 73. Seston, *Relazioni di X Congresso internationale die scienze storiche* (1955) VI, p. 782, note 3 is in error when assuming the existence of a gold coin of Valerius Valens, cf. also Habicht, op. cit., p. 365, note 2.

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In my opinion they conclusively prove the date of the war to be 316. This can be seen particularly clearly in Alexandria, where two series of coins were struck with the mintmark 

(i) *Iovi conservatori aug* for Licinius
(ii) a. *Iovi conservatori augg* for Licinius and Valens
b. *Iovi conservatori augg* for Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius II.

In other words, Licinius, once having broken his relations with Constantine, first appears alone on the coins (*aug*!), then appoints Valens as a colleague (*augg*), and; finally, after the peace treaty, coins with Constantine and the two oldest Caesars (coins of Constantine II may yet be found; otherwise the absence of the younger son of Constantine might reflect a late stage in the negotiations between Constantine and Licinius when the latter had deposed Valens and had agreed to accept one of the sons of Constantine as Caesar, but not the other. In theory, three members of the House of Constantine would have given the West a majority in the imperial *collegium*.[2] Such an Alexandrian issue could possibly be connected with the papyrus[3] which shows that Licinius, ready to compromise, actually accepted the consuls of 317 before Constantine).[4] The chronological coherence of the events is proven by the use of a single mintmark for all these coins.

The coinage of Cyzicus is less explicit although the issue with Valens immediately precedes the postwar series with obverses of all five rulers.[5]

To these proofs I may add that whereas the Nicomedian and Heraclean coinages give no clues as to the chronology of Civil War

[1] Kent, "Pattern," p. 73 publishing both parts of (ii) as one issue (*sic*).
[2] Habicht, op. cit., p. 366.
[3] PThead. 57. Habicht's interpretation (pp. 365ff.) takes no account of this papyrus, nor does Lafaurie in *Bull. Soc. Franç. Num.* 1954, p. 293.
[4] Entered in the *Fasti* for February 17, 317 (Degrassi, *I Fasti Consolari*, p. 79) as noted also by Lafaurie, loc. cit.
[5] Kent, "Pattern," p. 68.

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I, the Antiochene sequence of marks and obverses conforms to the observations regarding Cyzicus and Alexandria. After the fall of Daza and before the rise of the Caesars we have three marks and four series of coins:[1]

(a) $\frac{\text{☧ / A / } \vert\text{III}}{\text{ANT}}$, (b) $\frac{\vert\text{A}}{\text{ANT}}$, both *Iovi conservatori augg*, obv. head laur. r., (c) $\frac{\vert\text{A}}{\text{ANT}}$, *Iovi conservatori augg nn*, bust laur., drap. r. with curtailed obv. leg. IMP LICINIVS AVG, and, finally, (d) *Iovi conservatori* marked $\frac{*\vert\text{A}}{\text{ANT}}$ with the same obv. leg. and a bust rad., drap., hold. sceptre, globe and mappa. This bust is later to be used with the remaining Licinian bronze issues of this mint, all of which included the sons of the Constantinian and Licinian Houses, and entitled the mint S(acra) M(oneta).

Of the remaining Eastern gold coinages only Nicomedia sheds additional light on the course of events. Nicomedia appears to have been the chief mint city of Licinius. In 315/316 Licinius commemorated the *decennalia* of Constantine by issuing the type VICTORIAE AVGG NN/VOT X/MVL XX; shortly afterwards, obviously before 317, the *Iovi conservatori* without any Constantinian obverses was minted. The issue appears to coincide with Civil War I.[2]

[1] Kent, "Pattern," pp. 70f.

[2] An obv. of Licinius II shows the m. m. $\frac{\vert\text{N}}{\text{SMNΓ}}$ to have been in use after March 1, 317. The preceding issue of the same m. m. was a IOVI CONSERVATORI without any obv. of Constantine.

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IV. THE THEORY OF THE TRAVELLING MINT

The brilliant Austrian numismatist Georg Elmer once made the provocative suggestion that the late Roman gold mint was a travelling mint.[1] Unfortunately the paper in which he developed this idea was never published in full; it has therefore been impossible to test his arguments in detail. Nevertheless Dr. Kent of the British Museum later followed the same line of thought in his study of the late fourth century gold coinage[2] and in a survey of the tetrarchic gold coinage Professor Pink hinted at a similar phenomenon by noticing how the center of gravity with regard to the coining changed according to the political activity of the Emperor.[3]

I now propose to demonstrate that the travelling mint was a reality, and venture to illustrate how the organization worked in Constantinian times. I do not pretend to be able to give more than an outline, and I am fully aware of the fact that future research might occasion revisions in details.

The notion of a travelling mint is closely connected with the fact that the Emperor, particularly before the foundation of Constantinople, had a moving headquarters and no fixed capital as an ad-

[1] "Wanderungen römischer Münzämter im IV Jahrh. n. C.," *Mitt. d. num. Ges. in Wien* 1930, p. 136. The expression "the travelling mint," though not strictly accurate, will be used in the sequel as a matter of convenience. In actual fact it seems impossible to ascertain at present to what extent the minting was mobile and to what extent the mobility of the mints coincided with the travels of the Emperor. Though the general rule probably was that the mints (the bronze minting) were stationary and that the Emperor (or court) when travelling employed the services of these mints, there are certain signs suggesting a great deal of mobility among the mint employees, signs not entirely compatible with Dr. Kent's theory of the fourth century bronze as struck not continuously "but in spasmodic outbursts of intense activity" (Pattern, p. 31).

[2] "Gold Coinage in the Later Roman Empire" in *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly* 1956, p. 198.

[3] "Die Goldprägung des Diocletianus und seiner Mitregenten," *NZ* 64, 1931, p. 13.

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ministrative center. Thus it becomes of primary importance to establish his itinerary; again this has previously largely been done on the basis of his legislation, his edicts, rescripts and so on, grouped around certain events, unanimously fixed geographically and physically by our literary sources. Yet the milestones available are few, and the itineraries have remained largely conjectural. It is my conviction that a close analysis of the gold coinage enables us to construct and reconstruct the Imperial chronology with an accuracy almost equal to that derived from a study of the legislation. The final result will, of course, emerge out of an effort to reconsider the "*Regesten*" in the light of numismatic research. In this context, however, I have thought it wisest to touch upon these legal matters only when they directly have affected the arrangement of the gold issues; a systematic revision of the dates of the Theodosian Code, the most important source for a study of Constantinian legislation, would certainly be outside the compass of this paper.

Before attempting a discussion of details, a few words should be said with regard to the gold coinage as a whole. A striking characteristic is the wide range of types employed, particularly in the earlier part of the reign of Constantine — contrary to the practice adopted for the bronze coinage. Whereas the bronze coinage, at least in geographically restricted areas, generally speaking, was uniform, the gold coinage clearly was highly differentiated. Certain mints never coined any gold at all (Londinium, Lugdunum), others short series only (Rome, Arelate, Aquileia, Cyzicus, Heraclea). Only rarely can we find exactly parallel sets of gold types in any two mints. We may find Sirmium exclusively striking the *vota suscepta* to the *quinquennalia* (263, PLATE V, 264, 266, 267) of the Caesars, Aquileia as the only mint commemorating the fifth consulship of Constantine, Nicomedia striking *votis x* (i.e. *soluta*) *caess nn* (315) but Thessalonica coining *votis x caes n* (314) of exactly the same reverse type. This, I believe, is an indication that many of the gold issues are not contemporaneous but successive.

On the other hand, it should be stressed that in most cases the individual mints, also when striking gold, retain their particular style of portraiture, an indication that the mints remained stationary whereas the organizers or controllers were mobile.

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In order to establish the chronological sequence of the gold issues we should begin by studying the travels of the Emperor and as far as possible ascertain his whereabouts throughout his reign. On the whole, I propose to do this without the aid of the numismatic material. Once Constantine's itinerary is worked out, the next step will be to discover how far the gold minting coincides with the temporary residences of the Emperor. Once the general principle is placed beyond dispute, we may be entitled to infer that certain locally limited gold series presuppose a visit of the court to the mint city in question. My aim is to reconstruct the itinerary and to demonstrate how the literary sources, mainly the Imperial constitutions, and the numismatic material can be correlated.

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V. THE DATES OF THE THEODOSIAN CODE

The basic source of our knowledge of the travels of the Emperor is the Theodosian Code.[1] A great number of Imperial constitutions record both date (*datum*) and place of issue. The year is indicated by the consular year. In many instances either the date or the place is fragmentary or missing.

Occasionally the subscriptions of the constitutions state also, or exclusively, the date and/or the place where they were received (*acceptum*) and properly exhibited or proposed (*propositum*). If nothing but the *acceptum* or *propositum* has been preserved, we get a *terminus ante* for the constitutions as such but, of course, no indication of the date and place of issue. If, however, we know from other sources (possibly other constitutions) the Emperor's temporary residence, it is permissible to calculate the approximate time between the *datum* and the *acceptum* or *propositum*. If the place of the *datum* coincides with the place of the *acceptum* or *propositum*, a very short time is likely to have elapsed between the one and the other.[2]

Owing to the varying and uncertain sources of the Theodosian Code, the preserved dates are to a high degree conflicting. This is eloquently illustrated by Mommsen's endeavour to work out the itinerary of the Emperors in his introduction of his edition of the Code.[3] The great German scholar was compelled to confine himself to general conclusions such as (for the year 319 A. D.) "*De hoc quoque anno historia nobis utilia non suppeditat. Constitutiones, quae quidem locum habeant, ducunt ad Illyricum potissimum. Neque Romam neque Galliam hoc anno Constantinus adiit.*"[4]

The only way of escaping contradictory statements about dates and places is an examination of the principles underlying the com-

[1] Occasionally Imperial constitutions have been preserved elsewhere, in inscriptions, in literary sources and the like. A part of the constitutions earlier published in the Theodosian Code are now preserved in the *Codex Iustinianus*.

[2] But even when the places coincide, two weeks could pass from *datum* to *acceptum*, and a further fortnight to *propositum* (Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 10). Even a period of eight months between *datum* and *propositum* seems acceptable to Seeck (ibid., p. 58) in extraordinary cases.

[3] Cf. pp. CCIX ff. *Tempora et loci*.

[4] Op. cit., p. CCXIII.

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position of the Code. Mommsen, of course, laid a firm foundation for future research, and Otto Seeck, using his intimate knowledge of the Late Roman Empire and the legislative procedure finally succeeded in working out a logical and consistent arrangement.[1] Any such arrangement necessarily involves a great deal of emendation and interpolation. The ruling principle is to make certain dates, established independently of the constitutions, points of departure, and then consider the constitutions which by their dates and/or places of issue clearly conflict with other evidence. Thus we are compelled to evaluate the possible sources of errors occurring in the Code. Seeck devotes some 150 pages to an excellent analysis of all the problems arising in this context.

It would certainly take us too far to recapitulate Seeck's arguments. Some points of importance for the subsequent discussion should, however, be mentioned.

The fundamental reason for the inaccuracies with regard to the consular years is the Emperor Theodosius' instructions that in any case of conflicting constitutions the chronologically later should be valid.[2] All the material of the Code should therefore be arranged in chronological order within each book and title. In addition each constitution was to be dated in an easily recognisable way, according to the *Fasti*.[3] Seeck shows conclusively that the subscriptions frequently are interpolations based on the *Fasti*, and more regularly so for the earlier parts of the period covered by the Theodosian Code (311–438). The result is, to quote his words: "*Wir haben hierdurch den methodischen Grundsatz gewonnen, daß Datierungen, die den Fasten genau entsprechen, minder vertrauenswürdig sind als solche, die von ihnen in der Form irgendwie abweichen.*"[4]

For the Constantinian time the dates of the subscriptions therefore on the whole correspond to the *Fasti* except for "*kleine Textfehler, wie die Weglassung oder Entstellung der Iterationsziffern, Verwechslungen ähnlich lautenden Namen, z. B. Constante und Constantio u. dgl. m.*"[5] Once occurs a nonexistent consulate, and the only

[1] *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, Stuttgart, 1919.
[2] Seeck, p. 18. CTh I 1, 1 makes any undated edict or constitution null and void, cf. Wieacker, *Textstufen klassischer Juristen*, p. 39, also note 68.
[3] Seeck, loc. cit. (Consularia Constantinopolitana as recorded by Hydatius).
[4] Seeck, p. 21. [5] Ibid.

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deviation from the wording of the *Fasti* is the use of the formula *ipso A VII et C conss*, which occurs three times. This wording is very likely original.[1] The close correspondence to the *Fasti* is also shown by the complete absence of postconsulates (to be discussed later) for the years 312–336.[2]

(1) The first point of importance is accordingly that the consular years of the Constantinian period frequently are interpolations, that the iterations easily may be faulty[3] and that a confusion between rulers with similar names (Constantine I and II, Constantius and Constans) can be expected to occur. The same, of course, applies to Licinius and his son.

Generally speaking the consulships of private persons can be expected to be correct.[4]

Invaluable aid for chronological considerations is rendered by extant or reconstructed lists of officials, particularly by the list of urban prefects.[5] In fact, a study of Late Roman prosopography is intimately connected with any examination of the Theodosian Code. Seeck regarded his Regesten as a "*Vorarbeit zu einer Prosopographie der christlichen Kaiserzeit*" and he consistently tried to reconstruct the lists of the holders of Imperial offices. When the consulships are in doubt, the addressees of the constitutions frequently give valuable clues as to the date.

(2) The second point of importance is therefore that we have to examine dubious dates (as indicated by the consular years in the subscription) in the light of the prosopographical data available; these as well as the geographical dates given in the subscriptions are even more important as chronological criteria than the consulates of the Emperors. "*Im allgemeinen gilt für die Kaiserkonsulate der methodische Grundsatz, daß sie sich bis auf die Zeit des Valens herab fast beliebig untereinander vertauschen lassen. Welches in jedem einzelnen Falle zu wählen ist, darüber entscheiden weniger die Iterations-*

[1] Ibid. [2] Seeck, p. 22.

[3] For the Valentinian period Seeck notes that of 33 constitutions the iteration is proved to be correct in 11 cases, possibly but not probably correct in 8 cases and shown to be wrong in 14 cases (p. 36). For the sons of Constantine the situation is even worse.

[4] Seeck, e.g. p. 69.

[5] *Chronica Minora* I, p. 67.

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ziffern oder die Kaisernamen, als Ort und Adressat, mitunter noch auch der Inhalt des Gesetzes."[1]

The postconsulate is another conception, which should be mentioned here. Dating by postconsulates was employed when the consuls were unknown or unacceptable.[2] Seeck states two important facts with regard to the postconsulates, (a) that they do not occur exclusively in the beginning of a year (when conceivably the authorities concerned had not been notified of the consuls of the year), and (b) that the compilers did their utmost to eliminate the postconsulates from the consular reckoning in the Code.[3] Another source of error was, of course, the unconscious omission of a postconsulate.[4]

(3) The third point is thus that a seemingly incorrect date may depend on an omitted or deleted postconsulate. In these cases the right date would be either a year earlier[5] or later[6] than suggested by the subscription. Again, if the subscription records Imperial consulates, we may have several starting points when counting backwards or forward.[7]

We have noted above that the *accepta* and *proposita* have little chronological significance with regard to our particular purpose. The computers of the Theodosian Code appear to have held the same view. When, however, constitutions recording solely the note of acceptance or proposal were included in the Code, this appears to

[1] Seeck, pp. 65f., cf. also p. 1 "*Die große Mehrzahl der Datierungen scheint allerdings richtig zu sein; doch mischen sich darunter so viele erweislich falsche (im ersten Buch kommen auf 142 Fragmente 36 falsch edierte...), dass Mommsen zuletzt keine einzige für sicher beglaubigt und jede beliebige Änderung für erlaubt erhalten hat (Gesammelte Schriften II*, p. 401)."

[2] For various reasons. A good example is given by Kent, "Pattern," pp. 24f. who records the different consular reckonings in the dominions of Constantine, Maxentius and Galerius-Daza-Licinius, resp., in the years 306–313.

[3] Seeck, pp. 66, 74ff., cf. also p. 22. This was done to avoid confusion in the legislation. The postconsulate (in the subscription noted as *p. c.*) was all too easily overlooked. The compilers therefore tried to restore the dating without recourse to postconsulates "*mit derselben Inkonsequenz und Liederlichkeit, die wir auch sonst bei ihnen beobachten*" (Seeck, p. 66).

[4] Seeck, pp. 68ff.

[5] Cf. e.g. Seeck, pp. 68f., 155.

[6] Cf. e.g. Seeck, pp. 76, 155.

[7] E. g. Seeck, p. 71, lines 33ff.

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be due to lack of complete records of the Imperial legislation.[1] Consequently texts with solely *accepta* or *proposita* were added as a kind of emergency. In an effort to reconstruct the original text an *acc.* or *p(ro)p(ositum)* frequently appears to have been substituted by a *dat.*[2] Otherwise the guiding principle seems to have been that preferably the *datum* should be recorded rather than the *acceptum* or the *propositum*. *Datum* and *propositum* in the same text are clearly due to negligence.[3]

(4) The fourth point emerging out of Seeck's examination is accordingly that a *datum* may be a substitution either for an *acceptum* or a *propositum*. This, however, applies only to constitutions where the place of the *propositum* is located in the administrative area of the addressee except in the case of high court officials.[4] In certain cases this obviously enables us to date a constitution a year later than suggested by the text.[5]

Seeck regards the passages giving the time of the year (month and day) as more reliable than the consulates. Dubious points can usually be interpolated by ordinary philological methods. As the exact date of each constitution was required, we may expect to encounter some interpolations in this context, too.[6] The place of issue or of acceptance was, however, of secondary importance to the compilers. It is therefore little surprising that this part of the subscription in many cases has been omitted. On the other hand, we may assume the places recorded mainly to have been rendered correctly. Seeck regards them as by far the most trustworthy part of the subscription,[7] though mistakes do occur. Dubious points can usually be explained with recourse to philological analysis. Most cases suggest a confusion of common, frequently occurring names with little known localities of similarly sounding names.

It remains to say a few words about the preambles of the constitutions, consisting of two parts, (a) the name of the legislator,

[1] The archives of Constantinople obviously were the foremost source, but particularly the selection of the material of early date shows that a considerable number of the consitutions were not to be found in the capital. Material from other places must therefore be brought together, and the compilers in some instances most certainly had to be satisfied with incomplete constitutions (cf. Seeck, pp. 2 ff.).

[2] Seeck, p. 80. [3] Seeck, p. 81. [4] Seeck, p. 80.
[5] Seeck, pp. 82 ff. [6] Seeck, pp. 96 ff. [7] P. 106.

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and (b) the addressee. The former must frequently have been supplied with the aid of the consular year noted in the subscription. The original wording may have been e.g. *idem A* or *idem AA*. This had to be altered in the text of the Code, and consequently this called for a conclusion of the computer.[1] Occasionally the names of the Emperors may aid us in identifying the Imperial consulships recorded in the subscriptions.[2]

On the other hand, the second part of the preamble may be classified as one of the trustworthiest passages of the constitution,[3] though slight corruptions occur. This concerns the names, whereas particularly the abbreviations of the offices held by the addressees could have been easily distorted or confused.[4]

(5) As a fifth point we may note that, (a) the dates of the Calendar year, (b) the geographical names, and (c) the names of the addressees are by far the most reliable parts of the passages of the constitutions important for dating purposes.

(6) The sixth point is that in dubious cases little heed should be paid to the titles of the addressees.

In the sequel the dates of certain Constantinian constitutions will be discussed with the explicit aim of establishing the Emperor's itinerary. This implies that only dated constitutions with an indication of the place of issue will be considered. In so far as revisions of the dates of certain constitutions appear necessary, the picture of Constantine's legislation should be drawn anew. This task without direct bearing on the chronological problems must, however, be reserved for future research.

The basis of the subsequent survey is the redating of Constantine's first Licinian war, proposed earlier by me,[5] further confirmed in the first part of these studies, and recently wholeheartedly accepted by Dr. Habicht.[6] The revision of the date of this war affected the dates of certain constitutions, and Habicht went even further on the path suggested. Now the redating of certain con-

[1] Seeck, pp. 111f. [2] Seeck, p. 112. [3] Ibid.

[4] Seeck, pp. 113ff., e.g. *p(raefectus) p(raetori)o, p(rae)p(ositus)* (alternatively *pp = praefectus praetorio*), *p(raefectus) u(rbis)* and *proc(onsul)*. These frequently occurring titles were occasionally inserted instead of other more unusual titles (Seeck, pp. 115ff.).

[5] Cf. my *Arelate* pp. 17ff., particularly p. 18, note 5.

[6] *Hermes* 1958, pp. 367–370.

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stitutions[1] is likely to affect the dates of others. Seeck's *Regesten* are more or less a series of interpolations based on a brilliant analysis of the principles governing the conception of the Theodosian Code. Once a part of the Emperor's itinerary is adjusted, a chain reaction is started. The purpose of the following pages is to see how this chain reaction started by the redating of Civil War I affects our conception of the Constantinian Chronology as a whole.

The first brief part of our examination indicates, with reference to earlier studies that the travels by Seeck dated to 313 really belong to the year 314.

As a point of departure for our study of the dates of the Theodosian constitutions, we may take the fact that Constantine left Milan after the conference with Licinius in the spring of 313 to fight the German tribes on the Rhine frontier.[2]

Curiously enough we have no proofs that Constantine took up residence at Trier until December 27, 313 (CTh XI 29, 1; 30, 1).[3] All the other edicts dated at Trier and by Seeck referred to the year 313[4] because, in his opinion, Constantine in 314 was campaigning against Licinius, really belong to 314, namely CTh VI 35, 1; IX 40, 1; XI 30, 2; 36, 1; I 12, 1. 3; VIII 10, 1; X 15, 1; XI 1, 2; 7, 1;[5] I 2, 1.[6] Nevertheless, despite the war operations on the frontier we may assume that Constantine made Trier his headquarters and center of the civil administration much earlier, and after the German wars we find him there late in December 313. His presence is subsequently attested in January[7] and on March 26, 314 (CTh III 30, 1). Towards the end of the year the Theodosian Code shows him to have been in Trier on October 29, November 3 and 8 and on December 30,[8] obviously for the consular procession on the New Year.

[1] With regard to those discussed in *Arelate*, it was mostly a case of maintaining (or, more accurately, restoring) the dates recorded in the subscriptions.
[2] Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 161 referring to Eumenes Paneg. XII (IX) 21,5.
[3] Seeck, *Regesten*, pp. 78, 162. Obviously we have to accept Seeck's insertion of the postconsulate before the consular years unless we prefer Mommsen's suggestion that the date is related to the *datum* of the edict.
[4] Loc. cit., pp. 161 f.
[5] Habicht, *Hermes* 1958, p. 369.
[6] Habicht, ibid., p. 368, note 1.
[7] The *propositum* of January 22 (CIust VII 32, 10) cannot have followed very long after the issuing of the decree.
[8] All the constitutions mentioned above, by Seeck referred to 313.

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The following section purports to show that Constantine stayed in Gaul, using Trier as his headquarters until and past his initial decennial celebrations. The first part of the inquiry concerns the constitutions accepted by Seeck as showing Constantine staying elsewhere during this period. This will take us through the controversial years 314–5 to the Civil War in 316, and actually to 318 as there seems to be little disagreement with regard to the Emperor's movements in 317.

The rich and varied coinage of the year of Constantine's fourth consulship and of his decennial celebrations (315/316) suggests that Constantine remained in Gaul until the initial decennial celebrations, and a study of the Constantinian constitutions confirms our hypothesis. The presumed decennial celebrations at Rome prove to be based on an erroneous conjecture. Modern research has without hesitation accepted Mommsen's views as expressed in *CIL* I, p. 397 "*Testibus legum subscriptionibus circa illud tempus in urbe morabatur.*" The Theodosian Code, however, gives little support to his theory. The incorrect date of the CTh VIII 7, 1 has been demonstrated in other context.[1] The CTh II 30, 1 issued at Sirmium with the date *Constantino A IIII et Licinio conss* appears to be from the year 319; the correct reading certainly was *Constantino A IIIII et Licinio Caes conss.*[2] That Constantine should have stayed in Licinian territory in 315 is quite impossible.

The next decree in Seeck's Regesten is more controversial, CTh VIII 18, 1 "*dat XV kal Aug Aquil, recitata aput Vettium Rufinum pu in senatu non Sept Constantino A V et Licinio C conss.*" Seeck[3] builds his chronological considerations on the fact that Vettius Rufinus was urban prefect in 315/316 and concludes that the dating must be wrong. The correct consular dating according to him was *Constantino A et Licinio conss*, i.e., 312, 313 or 315. By choosing the latter year he is forced to alter the place of issue, Aquileia to Aquaviva, some twenty miles outside Rome, because according to Mommsen's interpretation of the Calendar of Philo-

[1] Cf. my *Arelate*, p. 18, particularly note 5, Habicht, op. cit., pp. 368, 370, note 1.
[2] Habicht, op. cit., pp. 368, 370, note 1.
[3] *Regesten*, pp. 59, 108, 163.

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calus, Constantine must have entered Rome either on July 18 or 21. The crucial point is the mention made of the urban prefect Vettius Rufinus. There were two contemporary Vettii Rufinii, the urban prefect of 315/316, C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus,[1] and the Vettius Rufinus who was pretorian prefect in 319/320[2] and possibly consul in 323. The text is fairly corrupt. At least it varies in different manuscripts. The *apparatus criticus* records "*apud uettium* (uittium N, vectium OC, ricium G), *rufinum* (om. O), *p̄u* (*sic* PMLS, p̄pu H, pfm E, p̄m N, pfp C, p̄po G, p̄po u̇rb̄ B, om. O)." It is therefore very likely that the *pu* is corrupt, that the official in question was either the former urban prefect C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, in 319 holding some other office, or the pretorian prefect Vettius Rufinus, although the latter interpretation makes the words *in senatu* more difficult to understand. That the decree thus was issued on July 18, 318 or 319 in Aquileia appears extremely likely, preferably in 319, since Constantine's presence in Aquileia can be established for July 1 and 30.

Next we turn to the Frg. Vat. 274 of August 13. The subscription runs "*data idibus augustis Romae Constantino et Licinio augg conss.*" As the consulships are unspecified, the theoretically possible years are 312, 313 and 315.[3] In 313 Constantine had left Italy, whereas we know that he stayed in Rome in 312. Thus our interpretation of the date of this fragment entirely depends on our interpretation of the general course of events.

Another fragment, Frg. Vat. 33, has the subscription "*proposita idib Aug Romae Constantino et Licinio augg IIII conss.*" That this decree was issued not more than a few days before August 13, is clear.[4] The inconsistency of the Vatican fragments as regards the recording of consulates makes it very difficult to establish the correct dates. Seeck[5] therefore proposes a choice of any one of the years 312, 313, 315 and 319 (*Constantino A V et Licinio Caes conss*). Thus 312 appears to be a possible date also for this fragment.

[1] Schuurmans, *De Samenstelling van den Romeinschen Senaat in de IV^e Eeuw n. Chr. Diss.*, Gent 1943 (in typescript only), no. 776.
[2] Schuurmans, no. 777, cf. Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 143. As to the corrected date of CTh V 2, 1, according to Seeck (p. 167) establishing him as pretorian prefect already in 318, cf. below p. 39.
[3] *Regesten*, p. 50. [4] *Regesten*, pp. 8f. [5] *Regesten*, p. 23.

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Three more items in the Theodosian Code establish Constantine in Rome at 315, namely XI 30, 3 (August 25), I 2, 2 (*propositum* on August 29) and X 1, 1 (September 18). The dating appears to be in order. Accordingly we have to accept them as proofs that Constantine stayed at Rome at least during the time August 25 –September 18, 315.

Before concluding this negative chronological argument, we should consider evidence in favor of his staying elsewhere. That is, what evidence can be brought forward to show his movements in the early part of 315? Four dates can apparently be established, March 21 in Cabillunum, April 28, June 1 and August 3 in Trier. The date of the Emperor's visit to Cabillunum rests on CTh IX 40, 2. Seeck[1] refuses to accept the consulships *Constantino A IIII et Licinio IIII* as genuine because, according to him, Constantine was in Thessalonica at that time. Recently Dr. Habicht has shown the date recorded to be correct.[2]

The date April 28, altered by Seeck to February 27, 316[3] has previously been restored by me[4] and the reading suggested was later accepted by Dr. Habicht.[5]

The date June 1 is recorded in CTh XIII 5, 2, which gives the fourth consulships of Constantine and Licinius. Seeck, assuming Constantine to have been in Italy at the time, was forced to alter the year to 314.[6] Our revision of the Emperor's itinerary enables us to preserve the original dating.

August 3 is the date of CTh I 16, 1 recording the fourth consulates of Constantine and Licinius. Seeck[7] is compelled to alter the dating to *Constantino et Licinio conss* because of the supposed decennial celebrations in Rome at that time. Again there is no necessity to take such an extraordinary step, since the Emperor cannot be proved to have been elsewhere at that time. We may thus conclude that Constantine celebrated his initial *decennalia* at Trier on July 25 and travelled south in early August to be in Rome not later than August 25.

[1] *Regesten*, pp. 68, 164.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 368f.
[3] *Regesten*, pp. 142f.
[4] *Arelate*, p. 18, note 5.
[5] Op. cit., pp. 367f.
[6] *Regesten*, p. 98.
[7] *Regesten*, pp. 55, 161.

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The dates of the Theodosian Code are highly controversial for the years 318–319. Of fifty-six decrees fifty-two have the dating of 319, *Constantino A V et Licinio C conss*, whereas only one is dated with *Licinio V et Crispo C conss*.[1] Seeck decided that two series of decrees had been confused and endeavoured to reconstruct the itinerary of the Emperor with the aid of addressees, acting under the assumption that the name of an addressee was less likely to be corrupt than the subscription.

The urban prefect Septimius Bassus, who held office from May 15, 317 to August 31, 319, is the addressee of several of the constitutions in question. This implies that no decree directed to Bassus in his capacity of *praefectus urbi* can be later than August 31, 319; thus we are compelled to alter the year of CTh III 17, 1, given at Aquileia, to 318. In actual fact, similar alterations of the dates of several other constitutions appear necessary; it would be unnatural if no decrees had been issued in 318. One particular case illustrates how a dating with a Licinian consulate might have been altered. CTh XI 29, 2 gives *Constantino A V et Licinio C conss*, whereas the corresponding CIust III 11, 3, from a different source than the present day version of CTh, records the probably correct *Licinio V et Crispo*. On the whole, however, the reconstruction of the Emperor's itinerary should be made warily, with due regard to the prosopographical implications.

Accepting the Emperor as staying in Aquileia on October 12, 318, we may also accept Seeck's theory concerning the dates and the places of issue of the following decrees:[2] CTh XI 30, 9 (June 22, Aquileia), XII 1, 6 (July 1, Aquileia), VIII 17, 2 (September 7, Milan). The three constitutions by Seeck recorded from the end of the year 318, CTh II 6, 2 (October 24, Sirmium), V 2, 1 (December 1, Sirmium) and XIV 25, 1 (December 12, Sirmium) create some difficulties if we maintain that Constantine celebrated his *processus consularis* in Aquileia on the New Year 319. Seeck's arrangement means that the Emperor had left Italy by the autumn 318 and was moving east. The crucial one of these three decrees is CTh XIV 25, 1, addressed to the *proconsul Africae* Aconius Catullinus. Here Seeck

[1] *Regesten*, p. 56.
[2] *Regesten*, p. 56.

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boldly has corrected the recorded consular dating *Constantino A IIII et Licinio IIII conss* to *ipso aug cons.*[1] Now the date in itself is no stumbling block, as the list of African proconsuls needs to be revised. The following dates for the early Constantinian proconsuls in Africa can be established:

(1) Anulinus, beginning of April–October 31, 313.[2]

(2) Aelianus, February 15–November 8, 314.[3] We have at least five constitutions, obviously belonging to the same group and originally probably parts of the same law.[4] Of these five, namely CTh I 12, 1 (October 30), XI 1, 2; XI 7, 1 (both November 1); VIII 10, 1 and X 15, 1 (both November 8), the last but one is the only complete one, with the subscription *dat VI id Nov Treviris, acc XV kal Mart Carthagine Constantino A IIII et Licinio IIII consulibus.* The consular year, of course, refers to the *acceptum,*[5] and thus the day of issue was November 8, 314. As all these decrees originally belonged to the same law, the *acceptum* actually refers to them all, although the pertinent passage has been omitted in some of them. That the same consulates were recorded in all decrees is only natural.[6] The year of issue was thus, in all instances, 314. The latest decree recording Aelianus as *proconsul Africae* was of November 8, 314. Again, St. Augustine records him as holding the same office on February 15, 314.[7]

(3) Petronius Probianus, established as *proconsul Africae* on August 25, 315 (CTh XI 30, 3). On the second date recorded by Seeck[8], August 13, 316, his title or office is not mentioned, and the two constitutions in question must therefore be disregarded in this context.

(4) Aconius Catullinus. He is mentioned in three constitutions of November 3, 314 (CTh IX 40, 1; XI 30, 2; XI 36, 1) but by name only; they may therefore be disregarded here. He next appears in CTh XIV 25, 1 of December 12, 315, the decree mentioned above.

[1] *Regesten*, p. 167, cf. also p. 56.
[2] *Regesten*, Index p. 477.
[3] Not November 8, 313—April 26, 315 as recorded by Seeck, ibid.
[4] *Regesten*, pp. 78f.
[5] *Regesten*, ibid., Habicht, p. 369.
[6] As to the slip for CTh I 12, 1, cf. the comments in the Mommsen-Meyer edition of the Theodosian Code.
[7] Cf. Mommsen-Meyer, comments to CTh I 12,1.
[8] *Regesten*, Index p. 477.

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The date appears to be in order, but the place of issue, Sirmium, is impossible at so early a juncture. This difficulty can be eliminated by reverting to Seeck's expedient in another context[1] of correcting *Sirmio* to *Sirmione*, Sirmio being located at the Garda lake.

(5) Proculus, established in office as early as April 319, since the *propositum* in Carthage on May 7, 319 presupposes a date of issue in April (CTh XV 3, 1). He is further established on July 27, 319 (CTh VI 35, 2) although the consular dating appears to be corrupt. (*Constantino A IIII et Licinio conss* instead of *Constantino A IIIII et Licinio C conss*). Other decrees do not record his title and office.

For the sake of clarity it should be recorded that of the two constitutions mentioning Catullinus at a time when Proculus already had succeeded him, the first, CTh XI 16, 1 of August 27, 319, is a *propositum*; the date of issue, impossible to ascertain, must fall within Catullinus' tenure of the African proconsulate. The other decree, CIust VI 56, 3 of July 28, 320 is badly corrupt. Seeck incorrectly supplies *proconsuli*, although the mss. record *praefecto* and *pp*. He also alters the consular dating to *ipso A et C conss* although the ms. records *Constantino A VII et Constante conss*.[2] The most likely dating appears to be 326, the year of Constantine's seventh and Constantius' first consulship, *Constante* standing for a corrupt *Constantio*.

We may now conclude that Constantine spent the end of the year 319 in Sirmium; there is no necessity to consider the two constitutions dated October 24 and directed to Felix, *praeses Corsicae*, as belonging to 318, for the only evidence of an official with that title rests with the constitutions addressed to Felix (CTh I 16, 3; II 6, 2)[3]. The consular year of the former is clearly corrupt, *Constantino A IIII et Licinio IIII Caes cons* instead of *Constantino A IIIII et Licinio Caes cons*,[4] whereas the latter has the correct consulships of 319. Finally, for the CTh V 2, 1 the consulships are correctly recorded, and the addressee, the pretorian prefect Rufinus is the first one recorded for the Gallic prefecture.[5] Nothing prevents us from accepting the subscription of the mss. rather than Seeck's conjecture.

[1] *Regesten*, pp. 55, 160 when discussing the CTh VII 22,1.
[2] Krueger suggests *Constantino A IIII et Licinio IIII*.
[3] Cf. Mommsen-Meyer, Introduction, p. CXCIX.
[4] So corrected by Mommsen-Meyer.
[5] *Regesten*, p. 143.

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With the Emperor's whereabouts for the end of 319 established, two points of the itinerary proposed by Seeck involve some difficulties, namely the two constitutions of July 25, 319, issued at Naissus (CTh II 15, 1 and II 16, 2).[1] The latter, directed *ad Bassum* is simple to deal with. The inference of Seeck and Mommsen-Meyer that this Bassus was the urban prefect of 317/319 is supported solely by the comments of the *O(xonianus Bodleianus Seldenianus* B 16) ms. which states *"Ad Bassum intellege praefectum urbi."*[2] As the ms. identifies Bassus with the urban prefect, the compiler necessarily must have altered the dating, for this is the only ms. giving the consulships as *Constantino A IIII et Licinio conss*, probably instead of *Constantino A IIIII et Licinio C conss*. In other mss. the consulships are given as *Constantino A VIII et Constantio C*, obviously the dating of 329 (*Constantino A VIII et Constantino C IIII*). Thus the real slip is confined to *Constantio* (pro *Constantino C*). Mommsen-Meyer, however, both in their comments and in their introduction[3] regard the consulships of the vast majority of the mss. (NBGEPMLS) as a later interpolation necessitated by the fact that CTh II 16, 1 has been securely dated to 326. The above discussion has shown that this interpretation cannot be valid, that the correct date of CTh II 16, 2 is 329, and that the Bassus in question was the pretorian prefect of Italy Iunius Bassus,[4] who succeeded Ablabius in 329.[5]

The second constitution is directed *"Ad Symmachum vicarium"* (CTh II 15, 1). On formal grounds no objections can be raised against it: a Symmachus is known from February 4, 318 (CTh II 4,[6] 1), and this decree is cited in another of October 12 of the same year (CTh III 17, 1). The dating appears to be correct, too. Nevertheless, as we are compelled to move CTh II 16, 2 to 329, the same should be done with CTh II 15, 1, because it would be highly unlikely that the Emperor should have stayed twice on exactly the same day in such a small township as Naissus (despite the fact that it was his birthplace; on the other hand, Constantine does not seem to have attached much

[1] *Regesten*, p. 168.
[2] As to the general reliability of the O ms., cf. Mommsen-Meyer, pp. LXVIf.
[3] Cf. pp. CXXXIIf.
[4] Schuurmans, no. 120.
[5] *Regesten*, Index p. 474.
[6] *Regesten*, pp. 57, 166.

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importance to this. Other cities were renamed after him or after members of his family, Cirta-Constantina in Africa, Arelate-Constantina in Gaul, Byzantium-Constantinopolis, Helenopolis, the new foundation at the Propontis, but not Naissus), and because Constantine, even regardless of these two decrees is known to have been in Naissus in 329 (CTh XI 27, 1 of May 13).[1] In addition it should be mentioned that Symmachus by 329 must have been a man of considerable standing; he was one of the consuls of 330. The character of his office, by CTh II 15, 1 recorded with *vicarius* only, is uncertain. The necessity to alter the Imperial consulships recorded is no serious obstacle for our arrangement, particularly if one considers the unreliability of the records concerning the consulates of the Imperial Houses.

It remains to discuss the CTh IX 37, 1 issued at Serdica on November 26, addressed to a certain Ianuarinus. First of all the proper dates should be restored to the CTh V 10, 1 of August 18, and the CTh XII 1, 16 of September 29, both issued at Serdica. The consulates recorded are correct for 329 except for the slight error *Constantino A VIIII et Constantio IIII conss* instead of *Constantino A VIII et Constantino C IIII*.[2] Formally the date of CTh IX 37, 1 is in order, but physically it is impossible for the Emperor to have been in Sirmium on October 24, 319 (CTh I 16, 3), in Serdica on November 26 and anew in Sirmium on December 1 (CTh V 2, 1). This must be explained as a case of an omitted postconsulate.[3] This would give us the year 320, the end of which the Emperor spent in this important city. The fact that we have a decree (CTh IX 34, 3) addressed to the same Ianuarinus and posted on December 4, 320 in Rome (thus issued in November?) makes the likelihood of this arrangement even greater. Furthermore, both deal with actions at law, CTh IX 34, 3 with defamatory writings and CTh IX 37, 1 with annulments of suits.

The constitutions discussed show that Constantine spent the entire year 320 in Serdica except on two possible occasions, May 22 (CTh IX 1, 5) and July 22 (CTh XV 1, 4). Now the consular dating of the

[1] *Regesten*, pp. 54, 179.
[2] *Regesten*, pp. 65, 168f.
[3] As to postconsulates, cf. *Regesten*, pp. 66ff.

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former is *Constantino A VII et Constantio C conss*, the correct formula of 326. Although the years 320 and 326 are easily confused[1], there seems to be no reason for an alteration in this case. It is true that the editions of CTh record the addressee as Maximus *p(raefectus) u(rbi)*, and that a Maximus (Valerius Maximus Basilius) held that office from September 1, 319 to September 12, 323. On the other hand, two generally reliable mss., B and N,[2] record the office as *p(raefectus) p(raetori)o*. This reading has not been accepted though it offers a far easier solution of the problem of the decree than either the acceptance of the date or the insertion of a *p(ost) c(onsulatum)* in the subscription. As, however, the decree was accepted, and accordingly posted in Rome, this implies that the pretorian prefect must have been the administrative head of Italy. According to Seeck[3] such was not the case, since starting from the appointment of Rufinus (from December 1, 318 according to Seeck, from the same day in 319 according to me)[4] we get pretorian prefects in Africa, Italy and Gaul.[5] This, however, appears to be a misinterpretation of the evidence although the persons referred to by Seeck must have been officials of considerable standing. Neither Menandros (June 22, 320–July 6, 322, in Africa), nor Acilius Severus (December 18, 322–January 23, 324, in Gaul), nor Volusianus (August 1, 321, in Italy) is addressed as pretorian prefect in any constitution in CTh. The only official referred to in that capacity is actually Vettius Rufinus, and Seeck justly remarks that his tenure of office appears to coincide with Crispus' first command in Gaul.[6] Seeck argues further that the custom of addressing a decree to a pretorian prefect became necessary when the number of prefectures was increased and the holders were acting far away from the court. As long as there had been one prefect only there had been no need to direct decrees expressly to him. Obviously Vettius Rufinus created a precedent, and when after the defeat of Licinius the East fell to Constantine, and the pretorian prefects necessarily must have been two,[7] the custom adopted during his tenure of office was developed further. Ulpius Maximus appears to have been the Western

[1] Mommsen-Meyer, Introduction, pp. CCXIV, CCXVIII.
[2] Particularly the latter, Mommsen-Meyer, pp. CXXXIIIf.
[3] *Regesten*, pp. 143f.
[4] Cf. p. 39 above.
[5] *Regesten*, Index pp. 473f.
[6] *Regesten*, p. 143.
[7] As to the *praefectus praetorio Orientis*, cf. *Regesten*, pp. 144f.

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prefect in charge both of Gaul and Italy, and this accounts for the decree having been posted in Rome, although Maximus later appears solely in his capacity of *praefectus praetorio Galliarum*.

The second constitution mentioned (CTh XV 1, 4) is more easily dealt with. Despite the physical impossibility that Constantine stayed in Sirmium on July 22, 320, it is more natural to regard CTh XV 1, 4 as a case of an omitted postconsulate and date it as 321. The subscription is also otherwise corrupt with *Constantino A IIII et Constantio C conss* instead of *Constantio A VI et Constantino C conss*.

For the year 326 Seeck[1] records two constitutions (CTh IX 24, 1 of April 1, and CTh IX 8, 1) which, if correctly dated would be incompatible with the decree CTh IX 1, 5 addressed to Ulpius Maximus, considered above. The addressee of the latter is Bassus, *vicarius Italiae*, this being the only constitution where he is referred to in this capacity. This Bassus must be Iunius Bassus, *praefectus praetorio Italiae* in 329 and consul in 331.[2] The only evidence that he was *vicarius Italiae* is CTh IX 8, 1. Thus the other decrees mentioning a Bassus (possibly Septimius Bassus, the former urban prefect) do not prevent us from redating this decree as 318, when Constantine's presence in Aquileia is otherwise firmly attested. The list of *vicarii Italiae* as recorded by Seeck[3] is headed by Iulius Severus, first in evidence on June 27, 318. That Iunius Bassus was the first *vicarius Italiae* is thus very likely. This arrangement implies that the subscription of CTh IX 8, 1 is restored as *Licinio A V et Crispo C conss* from the *Constantino A VII et Constantio Caes conss* in the present day editions.

The unreliability of the Imperial consulships as recorded by CTh has been demonstrated fully before and stressed by all editors. An extract of the *apparatus criticus* of the Mommsen-Meyer edition goes to show how much at variance the textual tradition is:

> "constantino (constantio *PM*, const. *C*) a (*om. H*) uii (*i G*) et constantio (*sic VBEC*, constantino *NGPMS*, constante *HO*) caes (*sic VHN*, *om. reliqui*) *libri*."

The second Aquileian constitution CTh IX 24, 1 is closely connected with the one discussed above, both with regard to content, place and date of issue. The proper year is accordingly 318.

[1] *Regesten*, p. 176
[2] Schuurmans, nos. 119–120.
[3] *Regesten*, Index p. 479.

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With regard to the constitutions of later years we may in passing note that the proper year for CTh XII 5, 1[1] is 327, the constitution being probably a case of an omitted postconsulate, and restore CTh XI 7, 4 and IX 12, 2 to their proper dates, those indicated in the subscriptions, i.e. the years 327 and 326, respectively.[2] Similarly the date of CTh VI 1, 4, by the manuscript given as June 27, 317, can be maintained despite Seeck's attempts to change it to 330.

Reconstructing the Emperor's itinerary we arrive at the following results:

314	March 26, Trier	CTh III 30, 1
	October 29, Trier	CTh VI 35, 1
	October 30, Trier	CTh I 12, 1
	November 1, Trier	CTh XI 1, 2; 7, 1
	November 8, Trier	CTh VIII 10, 1; X 15, 1
315	March 21, Cabillunum	CTh IX 40, 2
	April 28, Trier	Optatus Milev. ed. Ziwsa p. 212
	June 1, Trier	CTh XIII 5, 2; XI 30, 4
	August 3, Trier	CTh I 16, 1
	August 25, Rome	CTh XI 30, 3
	September 13, Rome	CTh X 1, 1
	October 19, Milan	Frg. Vat. 273[3]
	December 12, Sirmio	CTh XIV 25, 1
316	January 11, Trier	CTh I 22, 1
	May 6, Vienna	CTh II 6, 1
	August 13, Arelate	CTh XI 30, 5. 6
	September 20, Verona	Frg. Vat. 290
	October 8, Cibalae[4]	
	Sirmium	
	Philippopolis	
	Campus Mardiensis	
	December 4, Serdica	CTh IX 1, 1
317	March 1, Serdica	Chron. I p. 232, Anon. Val. 5, 19
	March 8, Thessalonica	CTh VIII 7, 1

[1] By Seeck published twice, *Regesten*, pp. 175, 178.
[2] Seeck gives the years 328 and 329.
[3] Possibly 312.
[4] My *Arelate*, pp. 17 ff.

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	April 17, Serdica	CTh VIII 12, 2; IX 10, 1
	June 6, Sirmium	CTh XI 30, 7
	June 27, Thessalonica	CTh VI 1, 4
318	April 1, Aquileia	CTh IX 24, 1
	April 4, Aquileia	CTh IX 8, 1
	June 22, Aquileia	CTh XI 30, 9
	July 1, Aquileia	CTh XII 1, 6
	July 18, Aquileia	CTh VIII 18, 1
	July 30, Aquileia	CTh VII 22, 2[1]
	September 7, Milan	CTh VIII 18, 2
	October 12, Aquileia	CTh III 17, 1
319	March 11, Sirmium	CTh X 8, 2
	April 13, Sirmium	CTh II 19, 1
	April 27, Sirmium	CTh VI 35, 3
	June 2, Sirmium	CTh II 30, 1
	October 24, Sirmium	CTh I 16, 3; II 6, 2
	December 1, Sirmium	CTh V 2, 1
320	January 31, Serdica	CTh III 2, 1; IV 12, 3; VIII 16, 1; XI 7, 3; CIust VI 9, 9; VI 23, 15; VI 37, 21
	May 19, Serdica	CTh X 1, 4
	June 30, Serdica	CTh IX 3, 1
	November 26, Serdica	CTh IX 37, 1
	December 17, Serdica	CTh XVI 10, 1
321	February 6, Serdica	CTh II 19, 2
	February 27, Serdica	CTh IX 42, 1
	April 11, Sirmium	CTh XV 1, 2
	April 17, Sirmium	CTh XI 19, 1; CIust XI 62, 2
	May 27, Viminacium	CIust VIII 10, 6
	June 12, Sirmium	CTh II 18, 1; XI 30, 11 (uncertain)
	September 14, Sirmium	CTh I 4, 1; IX 43, 1
322	May 23, Sirmium	CTh II 4, 2; II 18, 2
	June 12, Sirmium	CTh IV 8, 4

[1] Possibly 326.

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Campona, defeats the Sarmats, Porph. Opt. VI 18, Zos. II 21
Margus, C. returns to Roman territory, Porph. Opt. VI 23
Bononia, C. divides the spoils, Porph. Opt. VI 26
July 6, Bononia CTh XI 27, 2
July 20, Sirmium CTh IV 8, 5
July 26, Savaria CTh I 1, 1
December 18, Serdica CTh III 32, 1

323 February 15, Thessalonica CTh IV 8, 6
April 13, Byzantium CTh XI 30, 12; XII 1, 8
May 25, Sirmium CTh XVI 2, 5

324 January 19, Sirmium CTh XII 17
January 23, Sirmium CTh VI 22, 1
March 8, Thessalonica CTh XIII 5, 4
April 9, Thessalonica CTh II 17, 1
July 3, Hadrianople, Licinius defeated, CTh VII 20, 1, Chron. I p. 232
Byzantium, siege of
September 18, Chrysopolis

325 February 25, Nicomedia CTh I 15, 1
May 20, Nicaea, opening of Council, Socrat. I 13, 13
May 23, Nicaea CTh I 2, 5; II 18, 3
July 25, Nicomedia, *vicennalia*, Hier. Chron. 2342, Eus. V.C. III 15
August 11, Nicomedia CIust VI 21, 15
September 17, Nassetis CTh XI 39, 1
October 19, Aquae CTh VII 4, 1

326 February 3, Heraclea CTh IX 3, 2; 7, 1
March 5, Heraclea CTh X 4, 1
March 8, Constantinople CTh II 10, 4
April 18, Sirmium CTh IX 12, 2
May 22, Sirmium CTh IX 1, 5
July 18, Rome, C. enters the capital, CIL² p. 268[1]

[1] Cf. Mommsen-Meyer, p. CCXVIII.

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	July, Rome	CTh XV 14, 3[1]
	July 25, Rome, vicennial celebrations, Hier. Chron. 2342, Chron. I p. 232	
	September 25, Spoleto	CTh XVI 5, 2
	September 27, Rome, *Profectio augusti*	
	October 23, Milan	CTh IV 22, 1
	December 31, Sirmium	CTh III 32, 2; X 1, 5 = CIust V 71, 18; VII 62, 17; X 1, 7
327	February 27, Thessalonica	CTh XI 3, 2
	May 18, Serdica	CTh XI 7, 4
	June 11, Constantinople	CTh II 24, 2
	July 30, Nicomedia	CTh XII 5, 1
328	March 1, Nicomedia	CTh XIV 24
	July 5, Oescus	CTh VI 35, 5
	September 27, Trier	CTh I 4, 2
	December 29, Trier	CTh I 16, 4; VII 20, 5
329	March 9, Sirmium	CTh VI 4, 1[2]
	March 15, Sirmium	CTh II 16, 1; III 30, 3; CIust IV 32, 25; V 72, 43
	May 13, Naissus	CTh XI 27, 1
	May 29, Serdica	CTh IX 9, 1
	July 25, Naissus	CTh II 15, 1; II 16, 2
	August 3, Heraclea	CTh XI 30, 13
	August 18, Serdica	CTh V 10, 1
	September 29, Serdica	CTh XII 1, 16
	October 13, Constantinople	CTh VII 20, 3
	October 25, Heraclea	CTh XII 1, 17

For the remaining years of Constantine's life Constantinople becomes the center of his activities and there is no need to pursue the inquiry further. Any problems arising from the dates of the Theodosian Code will be discussed in connection with the coins.

[1] Cf. Mommsen-Meyer, comments to this decree.
[2] Possibly 320.

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VI. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GOLD COINS

1. From Trier to Cibalae

If we approach the chronological problem from the numismatic angle, the mint of Trier, of course, comes first. As Trier was the only mint to strike gold for Constantine in the five first years of his reign, we have little reason to go into details of internal chronology. Suffice it to say that the earliest group comprised aurei marked TR depicting Constantine as Caesar, the second solidi marked PTR showing Constantine as Augustus. The latter group was struck in the years immediately preceding the Italian campaign.[1] This group, homogeneous in point of style and fabric, can chronologically be divided into two parts, the earlier with the obverse break CONSTAN-TINVS PF AVG, the latter with the break CONSTANTI-NVS PF AVG.[2] The change of break can be dated as Constantine's quinquennial year, March 31, 311/312.[3] The solidi struck with the obverse break CONSTANTI-NVS PF AVG were:

FELICITAS REIPVBLICAE (61)
GAVDIVM REIPVBLICAE (86)
GAVDIVM ROMANORVM-ALAMANNIA (91)
GAVDIVM ROMANORVM-FRANCIA (94)
GLORIA EXERCITVS GALL (101)
PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS (131)

[1] There is no real evidence for a solidus reform as early as 306/307 as Mrs. Alföldi contends (Trier, pp. 104f.). Her dating of the irregular ½ solidus PONT MAX PPP PROCS is not convincing nor the dating of the CONSE-CRATIO type (consecration coins of Chlorus of a much later date are known). Coining was not necessarily continuous (Alföldi, *JRS* 1932, pp. 10ff., Kent, "Pattern," p. 31) and the argument that the Emperor at a certain time must have needed hard cash is deceptive.

[2] Cf. my "The Battle of the Milvian Bridge," *Hermes* 1960, pp. 366f. and above p. 5.

[3] Ibid. The question whether the *natalis imperii* was March 31, 307 or later the same year (Miss King, *ANSMN* IX, p. 130 remarks that Constantine could not have assumed the title of Augustus very late in 307) does not affect the argument.

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SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI (PLATE I, 202)
VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG (227)
VIRTVS EXERCITVS GALL (302)
VOTIS V MVLTIS X (PLATE I, 313)

The next Treveran group of gold coins is different in many respects, the flan larger and thinner, the relief flat, the portrait broad and squarish. To this group belong the dateable gold pieces commemorating both the fourth consulate and the *decennalia* of the Emperor, although certain types appear to have been struck before these years (315–July 316). However, before dealing with this group of coins it seems appropriate to study the early Italian gold coins struck by Constantine.

The influence of Treveran prototypes upon Italian issues has been noted by previous research.[1] The resemblance is one of types as well as of fabric. The first Italian solidi all had thick and small flans. This is attested by the coins of Ostia, struck not later than the spring 313.[2] The reverses of the small module solidi were:

(i) Rome: GAVDIVM REIPVBLICAE (87)
GAVDIVM ROMANORVM (88)
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG (118)
PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS (132)
VBIQVE VICTORES (PLATE I, 205)
VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG (two types, PLATE I, 228)
VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP/VOT X (PLATE I, 274)

(ii) Ostia: IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG (119)
PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS (133–4)
SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI (PLATE I, 203)
VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG (229)

(iii) Ticinum: PERPETVA VIRTVS AVG (124)
SOLI INVICTO AETERNO AVG (194)
VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP/VOT X or PR (275, PLATE I, 276).

[1] Mrs. Alföldi, "Trier," p. 107.
[2] Cf. p. 11, note 1 above.

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We note that all the types of Rome and Ostia had Treveran prototypes,[1] whereas the types of Ticinum were new creations, except for the *Victoriae laetae*. Their early date is attested by the fact that both the *Victoria Constantini aug* of Rome and the *Principi iuventutis* of Ostia have obverses of Daza also. The parallelism of types indicates that the coins were struck in accordance with models brought to Italy from Trier. As most of the types are very scarce —of some of them a single specimen only is known—it is impossible to draw any conclusions on the basis of the absence of some of the Treveran types. The coin with the *vot x* (*suscepta*) proves the date at least of the vota coin itself, i.e., prior to the expiration of the *quinquennalia* (March 31, 312).[2] Again, the Ticinese coinage shows that the vota cannot be regarded as *soluta*, i.e., the type cannot have been struck for the *decennalia* in 315/316.[3]

This survey suggests that Rome and Ostia were the first Italian mints to coin Constantinian gold, that the first solidi in these mints were struck before the end of March 312[4], and that all types were reproductions of types previously struck at Trier. The first solidi of Ticinum were struck later, possibly in connection with the conference at Milan. The magnificent gold multiple announcing the *Adventus* (64) of the two Augusti points to this date. The new types demonstrate that the die-cutters could work at ease, that the authorities responsible for the medallic propaganda had had an opportunity to adapt the imagery according to the requirements of the day.

[1] Of the *Iovi conservatori augg* (117) a ½ solidus only was struck in Trier, the *Ubique victores* (204) can be regarded as the specifically Licinian type and was therefore not listed above. The prototype of the *Victoriae laetae princ perp* was struck in billon at Trier (but cf. note 1, p. 9 above).

[2] The theory concerning the "anachronistic" reverse types discussed below (pp. 61 f.) is not applicable to the *Victoriae laetae* of Rome. A new creation can never be anachronistic, it must necessarily reflect reality or fiction accepted as reality. Regardless of whether we accept the *Victoriae laetae* of Rome as a new creation or as a parellel to the billon coins of Trier, the *vot x* must refer to the *quinquennalia*; otherwise the *vot PR* of the billon type should have been maintained in Rome.

[3] All decennial issues of Ticinum have large flans, and chronologically they were preceded by large flan consular coins recording the fourth consulate of Constantine. Alföldi (*JRS* 1932, p. 17) pays attention to this, but does not grasp the implications.

[4] For details, cf. my "The Battle of the Milvian Bridge," pp. 366 ff.

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Of the Ticinese *Victoriae laetae* with either *vot x* or *vot PR* the former variety could be regarded as an instance of "anachronistic" reverses; the type could have been brought to Ticinum from Rome to be mechanically and thoughtlessly copied at first until it was refashioned with the insertion of the *vot PR*.[1]

Thus at this early stage of Constantine's career we can see how the gold minting followed in the Emperor's tracks, from Trier to Rome and Ostia, and finally to Ticinum.[2]

The session at Milan was not a long one. Germanic tribes threatened the Rhine frontier and Constantine left Italy in the Spring 313. Uncertainty prevails as to the way he chose when travelling to Gaul and the time of his arrival in the Gallic capital. It is tempting to assume that he journeyed by way of Southern Gaul, i.e. Arelate, and to regard the first solidi of the mint of Arelate as struck during a visit of the Emperor to the mint city, but, as Constantine's presence in Milan is attested for March 10, 313, his visit to Arelate would have taken place in the end of March or the beginning of April.[3] Conceivably Daza could have been eliminated from the coinage at this juncture, but, nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that the

[1] Alternatively, the *vot x* coins were struck in Ticinum before the close of the decennial year, but the scarcity of early Ticinese solidi makes this unlikely.

[2] It is, of course fairly difficult to establish the exact time when gold minting was discontinued at Trier. I have earlier contended that this probably happened after the Italian campaign, i.e., that, e.g., the *SPQR optimo principi* and the vota coins with the later obv. break CONSTANTI-NVS PF AVG were struck after the battle of the Milvian Bridge, but before the expiry of the *quinquennalia* on March 31, 312. This is not necessarily correct, though there is no doubt as to the chronological significance of the two obv. breaks N-T and T-I. Gold coining possibly continued in Trier until the mint of Rome could start supplying Constantine with cash in that precious metal; there might even have been some overlapping as regards coining in these two mints. I cannot believe that the personnel of any one mint, nor even certain groups of workers in precious metals, were transferred to other mints as long as their original mint continued to work, except in special cases (cf. Mrs. Alföldi, Trier, p. 109, note 55). Otherwise it would be very difficult to account for the individual style of the mints.

[3] Seeck, *Regesten*, pp. 160f. To this cf. above pp. 10f. It is impossible to fix any *terminus post* for the transfer. The necessary *terminus post* for the establishment of the mint of Arelate is the rupture between Constantine and Licinius, on the one hand and Daza on the other.

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transfer of the Ostian mint was carried out so rapidly.[1] A possible alternate interpretation regarding the early solidi of small module from Arelate is that Constantine slightly later, the same year or early 314, paid a visit to this city and that the unusual reverse types PRINCIPIS PROVIDENTISSIMI-SAPIENTIA (164) and the varieties of VIRTVS AVGVSTI (289) were struck then.[2] The unique character of the reverses cannot, I think, be explained except by assuming an Imperial visit to the mint city to have been the reason for creating them.

The return of the Emperor to Trier in 313 brought about a new period of gold coining in the Gallic capital. We cannot tell exactly when he took up residence in Trier, nor when the coining started. It is quite possible that this happened only after the Francian war. This is suggested by the rich array of consular coins and decennial types. Except for Ticinum, no other mint struck anything corresponding. Thus the coins corroborate the results of our study of the Theodosian Code that Constantine celebrated his *decennalia* for the first time in Trier, and travelled to Rome only after August 3, 315.

Constantine's stay at Rome in 315 appears to have been of very short duration,[3] at any rate not long enough to make it worth while to bring the court and the administration down to the old capital. The absence of gold coins struck at Rome would otherwise be inexplicable. His main reason for visiting Rome might have been the inauguration of his triumphal arch.

Instead of Rome Ticinum became his residence, a fact amply attested by the rich issue of gold coinage. Comparing the Ticinese gold types with the earlier Treveran ones, we find two different groups:

(i) of identical reverse type and legend
FELIX PROCESSVS COS IIII AVG N (71, PLATE III, 72)
FIDES EXERCITVS (PLATE III, 80–81)

[1] Cf. above p. 11, note 1.

[2] The VIRTVS SAECVLI (Maurice II, pp. 152f., my *Arelate*, p. 61, no. 5a) is a misreading of VIRTVS AVGVSTI (307). The rev. leg. is partly obliterated, Dr. Bruck of the Kunsthistorisches Museum informs me, so as to allow the imaginative interpretation... SAECVLI.

[3] It is, of course, possible that Constantine did not visit Rome at all this year and that the decrees mentioned above (pp. 35, 43) have incorrect dates.

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PAX AETERNA AVG N (PLATE III, 121–122)
PM TRIB P COS IIII PP PROCOS (127–129)
RESTITVTORI LIBERTATIS (168–169)
VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM (Emp. with standard, 206–207)
VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG (Vict. adv. l., captives, 230–231)
VIRTVS AVGVSTI N (Emp. mounted, 290–291)

(ii) of identical reverse type or legend

Ticinum:
GAVDIVM ROMANORVM (Soldier dragging captive, 89)
GAVDIVM ROMANORVM/ FRAN (C) ET ALAM (92–3)
VICTORE AVG N VOTIS X/MVL XX (Vict., trophy, PLATE I, 212; 213; III, 214)
VICTORIOSO SEMPER (286)
VIRTVS AVGVSTI N (Mars, captives, PLATE III, 292)
Trier:
DEBELLATORI GENTIVM BARBARARVM (52)
GAVDIVM REIPVBLICAE (86)
VICTORE AVG N/X/XX (216)
VICTORE AVG N VOTIS/X/XX (215)[1]
VIRTVS EXERCITVS GALL (303)
VOTA PVBLICA (308)

Arranging the Ticinese gold coins according to mintmarks and issues[2] we get a first series of gold comprising the multiple VICTORIAE LAETAE AVGG NN/VOT X MVL XX (PLATE III, 273) and the following solidi, all marked SMT:

Felix processus cos IIII aug n, Fides exercitus, Gaudium Romanorum/Fran et Alam, Pax aeterna aug n, Pm trib p cos IIII pp procos, Restitutori libertatis (Emp. receiving globe from Roma), *Victor omnium gentium* (Emp. hold. standard, capt.), *Victoria Constantini aug, Virtus augusti n* (Emp. mounted), all struck in the later part of 315. The following issue, marked PT, is shown by a

[1] Cohen, 577 records a solidus exactly similar to the Ticinese one in coll. Caylus. Not verified.

[2] The first thorough analysis of the Constantinian gold of Ticinum was made by Andreas Alföldi (*JRS* 1932, pp. 16–23) who, however, missed the significance of the mintmarks.

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consular coin to have been struck within the same period. The PT coins were: *Gaudium Romanorum/Franc et Alam, Pm trib p cos IIII pp procos, Restitutor libertatis* (Emp. seat. w. parazonium, 167), *Victore aug n votis/x mul xx.* The two former types were struck with the well-known facing busts.

The next mark, ·T·, known from one type only, FELICIA TEMPORA (56), was probably struck for the New Year 316[1] both with a nimbate, facing portrait (without consular attributes) and with an ordinary laureate head. Next we get the S · M · T, dateable by a vota coin to the decennial year. The types were *Adlocutio aug* (1), *Securitas perpetua* (PLATE III, 175), *Victore aug n votis/x/mul xx.*

The last group, closely connected with the previous ones, was marked SMT, like the first issue, and comprised the following types: *Fortunae reduci* (82), *Gaudium Romanorum* (Sold. dragg. capt. to Emp.), *Liberalitas XI imp IIII cos ppp* (120),[2] *Rector totius orbis* (165), *Restitutor libertatis* (Emp. seat. w. parazonium, 166), *Soli comiti Constantini aug* (193), *Victor omnium gentium* (Vict. crown. Emp., PLATE III, 211), *Victore aug n votis x/mul xx, Victorioso semper, Virtus augusti n* (Mars adv. r.).

Analyzing this list of reverse types we find Treveran influence gradually weakening. All solidi of the first series had their counterparts in the earlier Treveran coinage, the second phase of coining introduces the new facing portrait and, for the old legend *Restitutori libertatis*, a new imagery. The symbolism of the few coins marked ·T· is new in the Constantinian coinage, as are two of the three types of the following issue. In the last series, the second SMT issue, only the legends remind us of the Treveran gold coinage, whereas a number of types were continued later in other mints.

The fact that no obverses of the Caesars appear in the Ticinese coinage during any of the series mentioned shows that they all were issued before the settlement at Serdica, probably even before the New Year 317.

[1] Cf. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, p. 90.

[2] This coin is the actual proof that Ticinum struck two different issues marked SMT. The *terminus post* is December 10, 316 when Constantine received his eleventh Imperial salutations (cf. Seston, *REA* 1937, p. 218 and Laffranchi in *Atti della Pont. Accad. R. d'archaeologia* 1921).

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2. From Cibalae to Chrysopolis

Gold coining at Ticinum was discontinued for the obvious reason that the court, the administrative center, owing to Constantine's successful campaign against Licinius, followed the Emperor north to Siscia. Here a scarce issue of gold, a 1½ solidus and an aureus of the reverse legend *Soli invicto comiti* (195), both marked ·SIS· reflect the Ticinese *Soli comiti constantini aug* (193) as, indeed, does the nimbate and facing bust of the aureus.[1] Here the solidi *Victoria Constantini aug* (Plate IV, 232) and *Virtus exercitus Gall* (Plate IV, 305) obviously were worked out according to models from Ticinum.[2] The very earliest Siscian solidus, however, appears to be the hitherto unpublished GAVDIVM ROMANORVM/FRANCIA/PS (Plate IV, 95), now in Berlin, of the well-known Treveran type showing Francia seated to l. on the ground with a trophy behind her back. The portrait enables us to interpret the exergual letters as *P(ercussa) S(isciae)*. New creations are the 1½ solidi marked SIS, CRISPVS ET CONSTANTINVS IVN NOBB CAESS (47) and FELIX ADVENTVS AVG N (62), the latter at least suggesting a visit of the Emperor to Siscia in the early months of 317. The established dates for this period of time[3] make a stay at Siscia in January or February quite possible, and, in view of the numismatic evidence, even probable.

Before following the travels of the Emperor and the court any further, a few words should be devoted to the gold struck in Gaul at this time. Both Arelate and Treveri were coining, the former mint for a short period only. Two types common both for the West and for the East, originating in Ticinese solidi of the second SMT issue, illustrate how the central mint distributed prototypes as modified versions of the original reverses. The *Virtus exercitus Gall* (*Virtus augusti n* in Ticinum) was struck at Arelate (304), Trier (303), Siscia (Plate IV, 305) and Thessalonica (306), the *Felicitas perpetua*

[1] I believe that the actual Ticinese prototype was a *Soli invicto comiti*, although no specimen has survived to our day. The imagery of the *Soli comiti Constantini aug* is different from the Sol coins of Siscia.

[2] The Ticinese counterpart of the latter was *Virtus augusti n*.

[3] Cf. p. 43 above.

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saeculi (*Soli comiti Constantini aug* in Ticinum) at Arelate (59) and Thessalonica (PLATE IV, 60). These two were the only later gold types of Arelate, whereas the Treveran gold coinage was more varied, and included also special types for the Caesars. Some of the types of 316–317 were clearly influenced by earlier Ticinese types. The chief Gallic mint, however, retained a very high degree of independence until the last years of Constantine's life, possibly owing to the fact that Crispus in 318 was given the *praefectura Galliarum* (after Civil War II Constantine II was in charge of Gaul). The mint of Trier can therefore be disregarded in the sequel.

To return to the Danube provinces, the court and Constantine can scarcely have stayed long in Siscia, and on March 1 the literary sources attest the Emperor's presence at Serdica for the reconciliation with Licinius. The peace treaty was confirmed by the nomination of the three Caesars, Crispus, Licinius II and Constantine II. Licinius gave up his European provinces except for the Thracian diocese. On the other hand, Constantine did not succeed in keeping all the territory he had conquered during the war.[1] An important result of Civil War I was that Licinius was forced to resign his legislative powers; from now on the Eastern Augustus was restricted to distributing and enforcing the laws and edicts of Constantine.[2]

Eight days later Constantine signed a letter to the *consularis aquarum* Versennius Fortunatus in Thessalonica.[3] The subsequent rich gold issues of the Thessalonican mint suggest that the Macedonian capital was the imperial residence for some time.

Once more it is highly instructive to compare the reverse types of the mint in question with the types of the immediately preceding time, in this case struck at Ticinum.

The reverses of the first Constantinian gold issue of Thessalonica were (as recorded together with their Ticinese counterparts):

[1] He had advanced as far as Philippopolis at an early stage of the war.
[2] Habicht, p. 370, also note 2, contrary to e.g. Stein, *Geschichte* I, p. 145 and Vogt, *Constantin der Grosse*, p. 176.
[3] CTh VIII 7,1, cf. *Arelate*, pp. 18f., particularly note 5, and Habicht, pp. 368, 370, note 1. The court probably travelled straight to Thessalonica from Siscia, although the Emperor went by way of Serdica.

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CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE (stg. l., kneeling captive, 7)[1]	—
CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE (stg. l., 6)	—
FELICITAS PERPETVA SAECVLI (PLATE IV, 60)	SOLI COMITI CONSTANTINI AVG (193)
GLORIA PERPETVA AVG N/MVL XX (102)	VICTORIAE PERPETVAE/VOT XX (277)[2]
VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM (220) = VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG (235)	VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM (PLATE III, 211)
VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG (adv. r., 234)	—
VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG (adv. l., 233)	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG (231)
VICTORIAE LAETAE AVG N/VOT X MVL XX (PLATE IV, 272)	the same but AVGG NN (PLATE III, 273)
VIRTVS EXERCITVS GALL (306)	VIRTVS AVGVSTI N (PLATE III, 292)

Only a few specimens are known of each type. It is possible that the correspondence between the Ticinese and Thessalonican types was even more complete than the list suggests. Clearly here is another case of models brought from one mint to another. The two vota types are of particular interest, partly because both were struck after the actual decennial year, partly because of the significant singular *aug*. Ticinum struck the *Victoriae laetae* type with the plural *augg nn*, whereas Thessalonica used *aug n*, thus showing that the legend must have been altered before the peace treaty of 317. The "anachronism" of a decennial type being struck after the decennial year is explained by the celerity employed when starting the Constantinian issues at Thessalonica.

From Thessalonica the central mint moved to Aquileia. The exact time is in doubt, but although gold issues of the years 319–322 are known from Ticinum also and from Sirmium, the fact that the Emperor's fifth consulate (in 319) was celebrated in Aquileia only (73),

[1] Corresponds to the Siscian *Soli invicto comiti*. The prototype might therefore be of Ticinese origin although not preserved to our day.

[2] In "Trier" = *Victoribus augg nn votis/x/xx* (285), of later date in Ticinum.

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makes it a fair inference that the consular coin was struck for the New Year 319. An *Adventus* coin of the same mint (2) implies that the *processus consularis* that year took place in Aquileia.[1] The heavy multiple FELICIA/TEMPORA with the exceptional mintmark MAQ (57) expressing a New Year's wish[2] must have been struck for the New Year 319 when Licinius II entered his first consulship.

The itinerary of the Emperor has been established above.[3] Generally speaking, my survey of the Imperial constitutions has shown that the Emperor spent almost all the year 318 in Aquileia, 319 in Sirmium and 320 in Serdica. The last Serdican decree (of this period) was issued in February 321. On April 4 his presence is established in Sirmium, and in Sirmium he appears to have remained until July 20, 322 with a necessary break for the Sarmatian War. After the war he returned to his residence, but in the autumn he starts moving; in December he is in Serdica, in February 323 in Thessalonica preparing the Gothic War, in April he violates Licinian territory when marching against his enemies. The victory must have been easily won, because on May 25 he is back in Sirmium. By now it is clear that an open war against Licinius is unavoidable, and the seriousness of the situation is stressed in a letter to Helpidius (CTh XVI 2, 5), in which Constantine threatens severe punishment to any official found guilty of such anti-Christian measures as evinced during Licinius' quindecennial celebrations (November 322). In early Spring 324 (after January 23) the Emperor moves south, making Thessalonica his military headquarters. War breaks out and in July we have the first encounter between the Emperors at Hadrianople.

Let us now view the coinage against the background of Constantine's itinerary. Constantine and, with him, the central administration stayed in Aquileia during all 318, in so far as the Emperor's movements during this year can be traced. Very likely gold coining started in Aquileia the same year, logically with the *Adventus* (2) type (the type *Victoria Constantini aug* (PLATE IV, 236) constitutes the link to the preceding gold issues of Thessalonica) and comes to

[1] Consular coins may have been struck by other mints as well, but the *Adventus* piece must have a purely local bearing.
[2] Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, p. 90.
[3] Cf. pp. 44f. above.

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an end with the consular coin and the multiple honoring Licinius II, both issued for the New Year. Very soon after the celebrations of the New Year, Constantine left Italy for Sirmium. The central administration, except for the officials travelling in the Imperial suite, remained behind, and actually were transferred to Ticinum. It is quite likely that no gold was issued for a while; the new types to be struck during the following bout of coining had to be planned, designed and executed. Towards the end of the year (319) an impressive series of gold, solidi as well as multiples, was issued. *Felix processus cos vi aug n* (75) gives the date, New Year 320. The friendly relations with the fellow-ruler Licinius are eloquently illustrated by the multiple *Iovi conservatori* (114) with Licinian obverse, by the type *Concordia augg nn* with obverses of both Augusti and Crispus (PLATE III, 8; 9–10), and by the plurality of Augusti stressed in reverse legends such as *Virtus augg nn* (288), *Victorib augg et caess nn/ vot xx* (PLATE III, 279). The vota coins recording the *vota vicennalia suscepta* (277) give us the *terminus post* for the end of this gold issue, July 25, 320. It may be noted that Sol still appears to be the tutelary god of the Emperor (the multiple *Soli invicto comiti*, 197, the solidus *Soli comiti aug n*, PLATE IV, 189).

However, few older types were represented in the Ticinese issue of 320/321. The *Principi iuventutis* (Prince hold. spear and globe, 135) and the two Sol types both represent old type stock; the new types, however, were distributed farther from Ticinum. The *Felix processus cos vi aug n* was struck both in Aquileia (76) and Sirmium (74, 77), where the *processus consularis* of the year must have taken place. In addition, Aquileia received from Ticinum the types *Soli comiti aug n* (190),[1] *Principi iuventutis* (Prince hold. globe and spear, 136) and *Victoriae perpetuae/vot xx* (278). The Aquileian multiple *Securitas perpetuae* (178) has no actual counterpart in Ticinum as far as we know. In all probability it too was struck in Ticinum, although no specimen has survived to our days.[2]

[1] But we cannot exclude the possibility that the Aquileian rev. was older, deriving its origin from the Ticinese *Soli comiti Constantini aug.*

[2] This imposes upon us the question whether Ticinum or Sirmium was the central mint at this point (the type *Securitas perpetuae* being known from Sirmium (179), but not from Ticinum). The wider range of reverse types and the obverses of Licinius, without parallels in other Constantinian mints,

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Constantine spent almost the whole year 320 in Serdica, probably reorganizing the frontier defense and preparing the Sarmatian War. To have a central administration in faraway Ticinum must have been a serious disadvantage, and in the later part of 320 the court moved north and made Sirmium its residence. According to a preconceived plan Constantine joined the court in Sirmium in early 321. About the same time, if not earlier for the consular procession at New Year, his sons, the Caesars Crispus and Constantine II had arrived for their quinquennial celebrations. Hence the medallion *Felix adventus caess nn* (65). The center of gravity of the Sirmian gold issues belongs to the year 321/322 when the Caesars celebrated their consulates, the Augustus his expiring *quindecennalia* (PLATE V, 280) and the Caesars their *quinquennalia* (PLATE V, 266; 267; 263; V, 264). The mint had, however, been opened well in advance of this festival year. The necessary arrangements had probably been made during Constantine's stay in Sirmium in 320. The first Sirmian gold coins are from this year (m. m. · SIRM ·) and reflect their Ticinese prototype *Felix processus cos vi* (74).[1] The next series of gold (m. m. SIRM) reflects considerable Ticinese influence with its types *Victorib augg et caess nn/vot xx* (PLATE V, 280) *Soli comiti aug n* (PLATE IV, 191) and *Soli invicto comiti* (196).[2]

The gold series of 321 demonstrate convincingly that Sirmium now had become the center of the Constantinian Empire. Here, and here alone, the *quinquennalia* of the Caesars were celebrated, here the consulships, here the arrival of the Caesars were commemorated on the gold coins. The types are, generally speaking, new. However, Constantine himself retains the Sol symbolism though in a fairly watered down version. That we now have reached the first year of tension between East and West can be seen in the wording of the reverses, *Victoria* (218) or *Virtus aug et caess* (287) instead of the plurality of Augusti in *Victorib augg et caess nn/vot xx*. To a certain extent Ticinum makes its imprint felt (237, 238).

Sirmium was to remain the administrative center until Civil War II; no mint is known to have issued coins in precious metal until

conclusively prove the Ticinese series to have started earlier than the Sirmian one, and to have been issued by the central mint.

[1] An inaccurate repetition of the original *Felix processus cos vi aug n*.

[2] The imagery is slightly different from that of Ticinum.

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324.[1] The earliest gold issues of 324 are the consular types of Sirmium *Felix processus cos iii* (· SIRM ·, 70) hailing the consulships of the young Western Caesars. The series of gold initiated with this consular type is of exceptional interest. The first series marked · SIRM · (comprising also two varieties of *Gloria Romanorum*, 103–4, and the type *Perpetua felicitas*, 123), must have been struck to the New Year, whereas the second marked SIRM in addition comprised the first type for Constantius II (145) nominated Caesar on November 8, 324, and the Augustae Helena (182) and Fausta (198), and further the first diademed upward-looking portrait of Constantine (*Constantinus aug*, Vict. seated on throne, 19).[2]

From Sirmium instructions were sent to the other mints required for the gold coining. Obviously Aquileia by now played a very modest part in the economic life of the Empire. Two types only are known from the last postwar issue, the outdated *Concordia augg nn* (11) and the *Principia iuventutis* (163) with an obverse of Constantius II. Ticinum still served the needs of the central part of the Empire and struck a more varied series with both multiples and solidi of the types of the Augustae, the *Constantinus aug* (20) and two varieties of *Principi iuventutis* (one with an obverse of Constantius II, 142, 146). Finally we have Thessalonica, the operational headquarters of Constantine, where no coins had been struck since 318. Here we can attest two new types, not known from any other contemporaneous issue, *Victor omnium gentium* (PLATE IV, 208) and *Virtus caesarin* (293).

3. FROM CHRYSOPOLIS TO THE INAUGURATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Only a study of the first Nicomedian gold series explains the exact mechanics of gold minting during the first postwar years. The relevant series are two: As there is no difference in the mintmarks, the

[1] Trier in Gaul is an exception.

[2] These types can be singled out as belonging to the same issue because, of the remaining gold coins of Sirmium marked SIRM, all have counterparts in the short Nicomedian series marked N (*Constantinus aug*, PLATE VI, 23, *Crispus caesar*, 44, *Constantinus caesar*, 35, *Constantius caesar*, 40). That the types *Salus reipublicae* and *Securitas reipublice* belong to this issue is also shown by a comparison with Nicomedia, where the issue preceding the N-marked coins comprised both the *Constantinus aug* (Vict. seat. on throne, PLATE V, 22) and the types of the Augustae (174, 185).

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obverses must decide the grouping of the individual coins.[1] The first series of coins basically comprised types employed earlier at Sirmium and Thessalonica. This applies particularly to the solidi. Among the multiples, however, certain modifications of earlier conceptions were introduced.

Although one new type was created, the 2-solidi piece *Pietas augusti n* (125) — with an obvious reference to the capture of Byzantium and with a suggestion of the great future in store for that city[2] — the common denominator of the first Nicomedian gold coins struck by Constantine is the fact that all reverses were "old" types. I believe that two different groups can be distinguished representing successive stages of coining, the first comprising slightly anachronistic types created several years earlier, the second comprising comparatively recent inventions. To the first group I would refer the multiples *Crispus et Constantinus iun nobb caess* (48), *Felix adventus aug n* (63), *Securitas perpetuae* (180), *Victoria aug et caess nn* (219), and the solidi *Adventus augusti n* (3),[3] *Concordia augg nn* (13), *Victorib augg et caess nn* (PLATE V, 281), and *Vota publica* (309–10). The second group would have the multiples *Crispus et Constantius nobb caess* (51), *Pietas augusti n* (125), and the solidi *Constantinus aug* (Victory seat. on throne PLATE V, 22), *Principi iuventutis* (148), *Salus reipublicae* (174), *Securitas reipublice* (185), *Victor omnium gentium* (PLATE IV, 209) and *Virtus caesarin* (294). Now the latter group of solidi is almost identical with the one struck at Thessalonica in 324 and consisting mainly of types created at Sirmium,[4] whereas the former was composed of old stock, partly outdated. I therefore suggest that Constantine's expeditionary force had been equipped far in advance with

[1] All obv. busts are laureate, the multiples use the wording DN CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG for the Augustus. At first the elder sons of Constantine were given the long legends DN CRISPVS NOBILISS CAES and DN CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB CAES. Constantius II, however, is never named *D(ominus) N(oster)*, a fact which suggests that the obv. leg. of the elder sons were conceived in advance of the capture of Nicomedia (similar leg. had earlier been used in Sirmium) but very soon curtailed.

[2] Miss Toynbee, *JRS* 1947, p. 137, note 18 and *Roman Medallions*, p. 196, and Alföldi, *JRS* 1947, p. 12.

[3] Recorded by Maurice (III, p. 57, rev. IX) without ref. to any coll. or sale cat.

[4] *Salus reipublicae* was probably struck also at Thessalonica though no specimen has survived.

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coin models in order that coining could start as soon as the mint was captured. On the other hand, the civilian administration followed slowly in the tracks of the Emperor, and its arrival at Nicomedia changed the types brought forth by the army into new up-to-date ones. Thus it seems that the financial administration, having created and distributed the types of 324 followed the Emperor to Thessalonica and from there to Nicomedia.[1]

The following bout of gold coining at Nicomedia bears the stamp of independence. A series of new types is created, the multiples paying homage to the senatorial (PLATE VI, 186) and equestrian estates (54) and to Roman glory (107), the solidi celebrating the *vicennalia* (248) of the Emperor and the courage of the Caesars (295, 300). But before studying their echo in the West we should follow the way of the older types of the East, to Cyzicus and Antioch.

Cyzicus struck no gold under Licinius, but immediately after Constantine's conquest of the East a short gold series marked SMKE was issued with (as far as our knowledge goes) the types *Concordia augg nn* (14), *Principi iuventutis* (obv. of Constantius II, 149) and *Victorib augg et caess nn/vot xx* (PLATE V, 282), all of them of old stock, the first and the third clearly "anachronistic." This suggests that the coins were issued already in 324. The second gold issue of Cyzicus (marked SMK) cannot be of much later date, as the *Principi iuventutis* type (Prince hold. two standards, 150) seems to have disappeared finally about 326. The second reverse is the *Constantinus aug* (Victory advancing l. holding wreath, 28) known previously from a Ticinese mule (26).

The first small gold issue of Cyzicus gains in importance when compared with the three first Constantinian issues of Antioch.

The dominating characteristic of the gold coins of the three first Constantinian series of Antioch (marked SMAN, SMAN·, and SMAN*)

[1] This solution implies that Constantine before his final victory over Licinius had planned to underline the importance of his dynasty by elevating his mother and wife to the rank of Augustae and his third son to the rank of Caesar, and to assume the oriental sign of sovereignty, the diadem. In actual fact, he might have done all this before Chrysopolis except for conferring princely honors on Constantius.

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is that all reverse types are "old";[1] one single type had been created as late as 324. The vast majority goes back to Sirmian prototypes of 321. It should also be noted that only one obverse of Constantius II is known.

The reverses of the SMAN series were:

Crispus et Constantinus nobb caess coss ii (2-solidus, PLATE V, 49), *Securitas perpetuae* (2-solidus, 181), *Felix processus cos vi aug n* (aureus, 78, and solidus, PLATE V, 79), *Felix processus cos ii* (obv. of Crispus, PLATE V, 66), *Principi iuventutis* (Prince with spear and globe, 137, and Prince standing with three standards, PLATE V, 143).

The SMAN· reverses were:

Felix prooessus (*sic*!) *cos ii* (67),[2] *Principi iuventutis* (spear and globe, PLATE V, 138).

The SMAN* reverses were:

Adventus augusti n (PLATE V, 4), *Soli comiti aug n* (192), *Concordia augg nn* (PLATE V, 15), *Principi iuventutis* (144).

[1] The fact that all the coins are solidi or multiples of the solidus (except the heavy *Felix processus cos vi aug n*) proves the coins to have been struck after Constantine's conquest. Strictly speaking this is not correct of the *Felix processus cos ii*. We know only a *Felix processus cos iii* of Crispus marked ·SIRM· (in BM) and another marked SIRM (Hirsch XXIV 2613). In the Hunter coll. there is an irreg. *Felix processus cos ii aug* (68) of Const. II. This coin may, however, be a barb. copy (of distorted rev. leg.) of a regular Sirmian original. Because of the date clearly indicated on the consular coins they have caused confusion among scholars, and so Maurice was moved to declare them false (*Num. Const.* III, pp. 198f.). On formal grounds there would be no objection to a legend recording a certain consulate (n) until the person in question acquired his following consulate (n+1.). Thus e.g. the consular legend COS VI for Constantine would be valid throughout 320–325 (incl.) until he in 326 entered his seventh consulship. In practice, however, the consulships recorded on the coins of the Constantinian epoch appear to have been struck in the actual year of office. Be that as it may, the consular coins recording the second consulships of the Caesars were outdated in the year 324. On the other hand, we know that Constantine's appointing of his sons as consuls for the year 321 actually broke off the friendly relations between Constantine and Licinius (Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 172, my *Arelate*, p. 33, also note 3); the latter did not accept the Western consuls, appointed himself and his son opposition consuls for this year, and started a consular reckoning according to the formula *consulibus quos iusserint dd nn* (I, II, III and IV), cf. Kase, *PRollPrinc*, p. 34. Clearly, the two consular coins cannot have been struck by Licinius — and on no account at solidus standards.

[2] Second O an engraver's slip.

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We may note that these coins correspond with their prototypes even in significant details such as unusual obverse legends (*Principi iuventutis*, 3-standards type: DN CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB CAES, 141, PLATE V, 143) or busts (*Concordia augg nn*, Crispus with spear and shield, 12, PLATE V, 15) or reverse variety (*Principi iuventutis*, 3-standards, 141, PLATE V, 143, common to Sirmium and Antioch, whereas all later varieties of this theme depict the Prince as holding a *vexillum*).[1]

The frequent "anachronisms" such as the commemoration of the second consulships of Crispus and Constantine II in the year the Caesars actually held their third consulates and the *Concordia augg nn*, show that gold coining was resumed as soon as possible after Licinius' defeat.[2] The *Adventus* coin assists greatly in explaining this phenomenon; I think it is almost certain that Constantine himself advanced as far as Antioch after the victory at Chrysopolis, and that the scanty gold issue of Cyzicus should be regarded as evidence for his travelling either to or from the East. Antioch was, after all, the capital of the East. A Church council convened in Antioch in December–January[3] (324–25) to prepare the council of the following summer. Possibly owing to interference on the part of the Emperor, plans were altered and, instead of the council of the Eastern church scheduled to meet at Ancyra, an ecumenical council was summoned at Nicaea. We have ample evidence of the interest the Emperor at this time took in matters concerning the Church.[4] Already for this reason a visit to Antioch might have appeared imperative to him. As a point of curiosity we may note that at approximately this time, the time of the Antiochene council, the last Sol type was issued, *Soli comiti aug n*. Subsequently, until the last years of Constantine's life no gold was struck at Antioch.

[1] No Crispus obv. of the latter variety known, but obv. of all other Caesars For Constantine II cf. e.g. for m.m. SIS Naples coin, Fiorelli cat. no. 14297, m.m. CONS Jameson cat. IV, 362, m.m. TS Hirsch XXVI 824, m.m. TR Maria Alföldi, "Trier," Pl. XI, 5 (cf. 152–161).

[2] It is possible that the second consulships of the sons of Constantine were noted according to the Antiochene *Fasti*, where only one previous consulship must have been recorded, since Licinius had refused to accept the consuls of 321 (Crispus and Constantine II). Even so the reverse types illustrate the rush to provide the army with cash.

[3] Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 174.

[4] Stein, *Geschichte* I, p. 160.

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We now return to the regions of the Bosporus, to Constantine's initial vicennial celebrations on July 25, 325. For this occasion the mint of Nicomedia had created a number of special types, the majority of which, however, stressed less the Imperial anniversary than things Roman in general. But the *vicennalia* were celebrated twice, for the second time a year later in Rome. The Roman gold of 326 (marked SMR) is very scarce, an indication of the short duration of the Emperor's stay in the old capital. Only two gold types are known, namely *Senatus* (multiple, PLATE VI, 187) and *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xx* (solidus, 247, and submultiple).

Now the execution of these Roman gold pieces is truly remarkable. We note particularly the heavenward gazing portraits and the unusual arrangement of the obverse legend with *Constantinus* along the left edge and *aug* under the chin.[1] One other mint had previously employed exactly the same technique, Thessalonica, on the *Equis Romanus* (PLATE VI, 55) medallions,[2] which are closely connected with the *Senatus* type. Also in point of style the resemblance is striking, and I regard it as quite possible that Constantine when visiting Rome in 326 brought ready-made dies with him from Thessalonica. Again, the Nicomedian and Thessalonican multiples cannot be exactly contemporaneous; the *Senatus* aurei of Nicomedia (PLATE VI, 186) have a plain diademed upward looking head, the corresponding 3-solidi piece of Thessalonica a consular bust (PLATE VI, 188).

Thus Nicomedia struck for the vicennial year 325, Thessalonica for the consular year 326. The conclusion is evident; on his way from Asia Minor to Rome Constantine and, with him, the travelling mint, i.e. the travelling officials of the central mint administration stayed for a while in Thessalonica in early 326.

Before we follow Constantine on his journey to the West we should deal with a short but important Thessalonican issue, exceptionally marked THES. A submultiple of the reverse *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xx* (246) gives the general date, the vicennial year. Two other THES marked coins are known, the splendid multiples of the type *Principi iuventutis* (Prince hold. standard, behind another standard,

[1] A similar obv. head on the silver piece *Genium PR*, cf. *JRS* 1947, Pl. I, 4.
[2] Cf. Elmer, *NZ* 1930, Pl. II, 11.

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151). The fact that no obverse of Crispus is known must be accidental. Thus we must conclude that the THES issue was struck in the Winter 325/326 before the SMTS issue with the *Senatus* medallion.

Nicomedia for the year 326 created an entirely new set of types depicting all rulers with diademed upward looking portraits. The reverse simply records the name of the ruler in question, the obverses have no legend at all. The type struck for Constantine shows two interlaced wreaths (PLATE VI, 23), the type designed for the Caesars, Crispus (44), Constantine II (35) and Constantius II (40), Victory advancing left, holding wreath and palm branch. This set of gold coins was probably issued at New Year at Nicomedia and, it seems, at Thessalonica (PLATE VI, 36; 41) during the Emperor's short stay in the Macedonian capital.[1] With the Emperor the types travelled West and were issued first at Sirmium (PLATE VI, 24; 45, 37, 42),[2] then at Ticinum (PLATE VI, 25; 46, 38, 43)[3] necessarily shortly before the tragedy occurred which ended in Crispus' execution. The mint of Rome confined itself to the special types designed for the Imperial anniversary.

Constantine's journey to Italy in 326 brought about a concentration of the gold coining in the East, or at least, in the mints close to the Bosporus. The mints of Sirmium and Ticinum were closed, while coining at Aquileia had been suspended slightly earlier.

The Emperor returned from Italy by way of Pannonia. On the last of December 326 he was in Sirmium; a short issue, by the vota type *Principi iuventutis/vot xx* (solidus, 162) dateable as 326–327 and including the medallions *Gloria Constantini aug* (PLATE VII, 96) and *Virtus DN Constantini aug* (301),[4] must have been struck a little earlier in Siscia.

[1] The reverses *Constantinus caesar* and *Constantius caesar* are the only ones preserved to our day. It is highly probable that the *Constantinus aug* and *Crispus caesar* were issued at the same time, as was the type for Helena, *Securitas reipublice* (184), struck there two years earlier.

[2] Constantine is known to have stayed there at least from April 18 to May 22.

[3] The Ticinese type *Constantinus aug*, Vict. adv. l. (26) probably has to be regarded as a mule.

[4] The prototypes were the Nicomedian *Virtus Constantini caus* (*sic*, 300) and *Virtus Constanti caes* (295) of 325 (these in their turn originating in the *Virtus aug et caess nn*, 287, first struck at Sirmium). A *Virtus DN Constantini aug* might well have been struck at Nicomedia at the same time.

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Acting on instructions previously received, Nicomedia during the Emperor's absence issued a special type to the *decennalia* of the Caesars, *Votis x caess nn* (315). The type was subsequently forwarded to Thessalonica, but at the time of issue Crispus had been put to death. The wording was accordingly altered to *Votis x caes n* (314), and the medallion issued together with the special type *Votis decenn DN Constantini caes* (311), the multiple *Gloria Constantini aug* (PLATE VII, 97), a slight variation of the similarly worded Siscian type, and the *Constantinus aug* (solidus, 29).[1]

The opening of the mint of Constantinople displays some unusual features. We know that the first bronze coins were struck in 326 at Constantinople, and one gold piece unequivocally belongs to the same year, namely the *Gloria Romanorum* with an obverse depicting Crispus as consul (105). The disturbing feature is that we know of no precedent of this type, although the Crispus coin points to a prototype struck during Crispus' third consulship in 324. Connected with the vicennial celebrations of Constantine is the uninscribed reverse with the Emperor standing in a quadriga (318). The first Constantinopolitan gold series was probably issued before the mint had been wholly established; the personnel of Aquileia appears to have been moved to the capital-to-be before the mints of Ticinum and Sirmium were closed and transferred to the Bosporus.

The first Constantinopolitan issue probably also comprising the reverses *Constantinus aug* (27) and *Constantinus caes* (34)[2] with diademed heads reminds us once more of the types created for 326 and brought by the Emperor to Thessalonica, Sirmium and Ticinum during his journey to Rome. True, the types survive for several years in Constantinople, but they lose their festival character, the obverses receive the ordinary legends, the busts become draped and cuirassed as was customary, Constantine wearing a rosette diadem, the Caesars laurel wreaths (e.g. 33).

[1] The time of issue could possibly have been early 327 when Constantine on his return journey to Nicomedia spent some time in Thessalonica.

[2] There is no corresponding coin in Paris for Constantius II, M. Lafaurie informs me. The later stages of the development of the Constantius II type are, however, abundantly represented in the material. The type *Constantiniana Dafne* (18) appears to have been a "gold strike" from a bronze die. The probable date is 328, cf. Alföldi, *ZN* 1926, p. 164.

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During the busy years 327 (latter part)–330 (early part) Nicomedia was the residence of the court and its mint the central mint of the Empire. Before the inauguration of Constantinople on May 11, 330 Nicomedia issued three gold series, the first reflecting the series struck slightly earlier at Thessalonica. The multiples were *Gloria Romanorum* (108), *Gloria Constantini aug* (PLATE VII, 98), *Virtus Constantini caes* (298) and *Virtus Constanti caes* (Emperor advancing r., holding trophy and spear between two captives, 296), the only solidus type being the *Constantinus aug* (Victory advancing l., holding trophy, 30) as in Thessalonica. Not much later a multiple varying the same theme was issued but with a different mintmark $\frac{|S}{SMN}$, namely, *Gloria Constantini aug* (Emperor standing between captives, PLATE VII, 99) and finally, on the eve of the dedication of the new capital, the rejoicing of the Empire was expressed in terms of the *Gaudium augusti nostri* (PLATE VII, 83) and *Pietas augusti nostri* (the latter struck both as multiple and solidus, 126). Here the creative phase of the Nicomedian mint ends. This issue appears to have been continued to the twenty-fifth anniversary of Constantine's ascent to the throne, when a series of *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xxx* (PLATE VII, 255) was issued. The characteristic truncation of the obverse head as well as the short hair on the nape of the neck connects these coins with the previous issues and distinguishes them from the subsequent vota issues of 335–336 (PLATE VIII, 256–7).

Before the responsibility of the central mint was conferred upon Constantinople, Heraclea struck a group of gold. The 3-solidi piece *Salus et spes reipublicae* (170) was shortly to be repeated in the new capital. The solidus type *Victor omnium gentium* had been struck after Civil War II in Nicomedia, but the rosette diademed bust of Constantine indicates a later time of issue (210). The third type was *Victoria caesar nn* (Victory advancing l., holding wreath, 221).[1]

[1] Constantine was at least twice in Heraclea in 329, in August and in October.

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4. From the Inauguration of Constantinople to the Death of Constantine

In connection with the inauguration of the new capital the central mint moves to Constantinople, a fact signalled by the reverse legend *Adventus augusti n* (5). An impressive array of magnificent multiples is issued, the 30-solidi piece *Gaudium Romanorum* (90), the 9-solidi *Salus et spes reipublicae* (171) and the 3-solidi *Gaudium augusti nostri* (84), a link with the preceding issue of Nicomedia. The ordinary solidi continue the series issued in 327 with Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm branch. The reverses include individual legends for each ruler (33, 39). At this juncture the first Constantinopolitan *vot xxx* (*suscepta*) appears to have been struck; the only solidus known (252) has an anachronistic consular bust, a reminder of Constantine's eighth consulship in 329. The corresponding sub-multiple (253), the first one to be struck, employed the obverse legend CONSTANTINVS AVG, whereas all others regardless of mint subsequently used CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG (258).

For the following years we have but scanty information on the Emperor's whereabouts. Most of the notices put him in Constantinople. The gaps are considerable and give almost any amplitude for travels over large parts of his Empire. I record the most conspicuous ones below (according to Seeck's *Regesten*):

a	April 17, 331	Constantinople
b	April 12, 332	Marcianople
	October 17, 332	Constantinople
c	October 26, 332	Constantinople
	April 18, 333	Constantinople
d	May 4, 333	Constantinople
	October, 333	Aquae
e	November 11, 333	Aquae
	June 17, 334	Constantinople
f	August 25, 334	Naissus
	March 22, 335	Constantinople
g	November 7, 335	Constantinople
h	August 22, 336	Constantinople
	February 4, 337	Constantinople

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Although the coin reverses now grow increasingly stereotyped, we occasionally get indisputable evidence of the Emperor's travels. The first after the celebrations in Constantinople — if we except some tricennial *vota suscepta* both of Nicomedia (255) and Constantinople (252) struck July 25, 330/331 — is a Thessalonican issue (mintmark MTS) with a submultiple *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xxx* (258).[1] As important innovations in the same issue we may note the introduction of the *Victoria Constantini aug* (Victory advancing l., holding trophy, PLATE VII, 239), and *Principi iuventutis* (Prince standing, holding *vexillum*, behind two standards, PLATE VII, 154). The third solidus type is the *Victoria caesarum* (Victory advancing l., holding wreath, 223). The date of the following issue of Thessalonica (marked TS), repeating the two former types (240, 155), is in doubt. A sojourn of Constantine in Thessalonica any of the years 332–334 is possible; the absence of Constans, however, in this rich issue, excludes the year 334, and this, I believe is as close as we can get the date.

In the same years, i.e. in connection with Constans' elevation to the rank of Caesar and with Constantius' *decennalia* we get the first gold issue of Constantinople after the inauguration of the city and after the first vota issue of 330–331. The former event is attested by the 9-solidi piece *Securitas perpetua* (176), the latter by the solidus *Victoria Constanti caes/vot xv* (225). That the sons of Constantine were in the foreground is further attested by the heavy medallions *Principi iuventutis* (152, no obverse of Constans known). With the exception of the *Gaudium augusti nostri* (PLATE VII, 85)[2] no medallion obverse of Constantine is known. The solidi of this gold series were of the traditional type, Victory advancing l., holding wreath.

Before we arrive at the special issues of the tricennial year we should mention a gold series struck at Siscia in 334,[3] comprising two

[1] The progressive enlargement of the portraits suggests the following internal order of the last Thessalonican marks: MTS, TS, TSE. The TSE issue is connected with the Constantinian *tricennalia*. The date 326 suggested by Mr. Carson (*British Museum Quarterly* XXI, 1957, p. 45) for the MTS mark is impossible on account of the mintmark.

[2] Possibly originally struck for the inauguration of the city in 330. Constantine was in Constantinople (?) on June 17, in Singidunum on the Pannonian border on July 5, in Viminacium on August 4 (?) and in Naissus on August 25. The Emperor must therefore have travelled very fast and visited Siscia before Singidunum.

[3] This, of course, was the year of the Sarmatian and Gothic campaigns.

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types introduced 331 at Thessalonica, *Victoria Constantini aug* (Victory advancing l., holding trophy, PLATE VIII, 242), and *Principi iuventutis* (Prince holding *vexillum*, 157). The latter type was shared by Constans also.

The tricennial issues are not easy to grasp. Rich series were minted at Siscia (PLATE VIII, 249–50, 260), Nicomedia (PLATE VIII, 256–7) and Antioch and a very small one at Aquileia (259). Thessalonica struck a special type of medallion (316, PLATE VIII, 317), but not the ordinary tricennial solidus. Finally Constantinople coined the unique *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xxxx* (PLATE VIII, 262) together with the ordinary *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xxx* (PLATE VIII, 254). We have, however, two different series of gold coins struck at Constantinople during the two last years of Constantine's life, the first continuing the traditional solidus type (Victory advancing l. with wreath) and introducing special types both for Constans (17) and Delmatius (53). This takes us past September 18, 335. The only vota type that possibly could belong to this series is the *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xxx* (PLATE VIII, 254), but both stylistic criteria and the scarcity of the type refer it to the later vota issue of the summer 336. It would certainly have been unworthy of the occasion for Constantinople to coin so sparsely for the Augustus, had the first tricennial celebrations taken place in the Eastern capital.

It now appears highly likely that he did not celebrate in Constantinople in 335 but in Nicomedia. This we can deduce from the enormous output of tricennial vota solidi, multiples, and special types of the latter mint.

The Nicomedian gold of 335 was probably struck in two phases, the first using the upward looking portraits (PLATE VIII, 256), the second the diademed draped busts (PLATE VIII, 257). Together with the vota type *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xxx* we find the magnificent multiple *Felicitas perpetua aug et caess nn* (58), and the solidi *Virtus Constantini caes* (299) and *Virtus Constanti caes* (297).

The belief that Constantine celebrated his initial *tricennalia* at Constantinople has been deeply rooted and ultimately goes back to Eusebius' assertion that he read his eulogy to the Emperor in the Imperial Palace on this occasion. Already Valesius thought this

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highly unlikely,[1] and Heikel is of the same opinion; the eulogy was not a speech but a treatise, probably written in Jerusalem.[2] Even if, in its entirety or in part, it had been pronounced in the presence of the Emperor, this could have happened in 336, when we know that Constantine celebrated his Imperial anniversary at Constantinople.

After the celebrations at Nicomedia in 335,[3] the Emperor travelled west. On October 23, 335 we find him in Nicopolis,[4] not far from Thessalonica. The dates of the Constantinian constitutions of this year have caused some bewilderment. According to the accepted chronology Constantine was in his capital on October 21 or 22.[5] Now the subscription giving both *datum* and *propositum* is unclear and earlier commentators have been in doubt whether the consulships should be referred to the *datum* or to the *propositum*.[6] Every difficulty is solved if we accept the latter solution. This implies that there is a gap in the Emperor's timetable between July 25 and October 23. On the strength of the Siscian gold coins we are entitled to assume that Constantine in August–September 335 visited Siscia, and two mintmarks, the first (SIS) with three varieties of the reverse *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xxx* (PLATE VIII, 249–50, 260), the second (·SIS·)[7] with one variety only (251), attest the correctness of the assumption. Contemporaneously a *Principi iuventutis* (Prince standing, holding spear and globe, 139) reverse and the type *Victoria caesarum* (224) were minted.

Returning from Siscia, obviously towards the end of October,[8] Constantine stayed for a short while in Thessalonica. On this occasion the *Votis xxx* reverse (aureus) both with (PLATE VIII, 317) and without mintmark (316) was issued together with the customary solidus

[1] Cf. Heikel's edition of *Vita Constantini*, pp. CIVf., particularly note 1.
[2] Heikel, ibid.
[3] The Consularia Constantinopolitana (*Chron.* I, p. 235) record: *Constantino et Albino: 1. His conss tricennalia edidit Constantinus aug die VIII k aug. 2. et levatus est Dalmatius caes* etc. Thus the text gives no indication of the place.
[4] CIust I 40,4.
[5] Sirm. 4, CTh XVI 8,5; 9,1.
[6] Cf. the *apparatus criticus*, CTh XVI 8,5. There is, however, also the possibility that the Sirmondian constitution, the best preserved of the three texts, is correct in leaving out the place of issue.
[7] Submultiple marked SIS·.
[8] On November 7, the Emperor was back in Constantinople.

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types *Victoria Constantini aug* (advancing l., holding trophy),[1] *Principi iuventutis* (Prince holding *vexillum*, 156), the dynastic multiple *Salus et spes reipublicae* (172), and, as a new creation, *Gloria exercitus* (Emperor standing, holding trophy, 100). This concludes the Constantinian issues in gold in this mint.

The Emperor then returned to his capital. The gold series issued in this context included the previous Constantinopolitan solidus reverse, varieties for the Augustus and all four Caesars, and the dynastic multiple (some months earlier struck at Thessalonica) *Salus et spes reipublicae* (173), and the new creation *Securitas perpetua* (177).

The final gold coining at Constantinople followed in the summer of 336 for the second tricennial celebrations, comprising not only the *Victoria Constantini aug* with both *vot xxx* (PLATE VIII, 254) and *vot xxxx* (PLATE VIII, 262), but also the *Victoria Constantini caesar/ vot xx* (265) for the vicennial celebrations due on March 1, 336/37. Other types were *Principi iuventutis* (Prince holding *vexillum*, 159, 160), *Victoria Constantini aug* (243) and *Victoria Constanti caesar* (226, both: Victory advancing l., holding trophy, a new reverse for Constantinople), the multiple *Gloria Romanorum* (106) and the aureus, without legend, showing the Emperor in a quadriga scattering coins (319).

It remains to account for two mints more or less out of touch — at least as far as gold coining goes — with the happenings in the rest of the Empire, namely, Antioch and Rome. Antioch ceased to issue gold after the coining of the winter and spring 324–325 and of early 326. During the tricennial year we find a series of solidi coined at the Syrian mint, *Victoria Constantini aug/vot xxx* (PLATE VIII, 261) followed by some solidi of the reverses *Victoria Constantini aug* (PLATE VIII, 245) and *Victoria caesar nn* (222, both: Victory advancing l., holding trophy). The solidi without vota must have been struck in the last year of Constantine, and both the series mentioned should be viewed in the light of the Sassanian war planned by Constantine (possibly also Calocaerus' rebellion) at the end of his reign. The tricennial series was preceded by a small issue of the reverse type "Victory advancing l., holding trophy," at first with the reverse legend *Con-*

[1] The corresponding medallion (in the BM) weighing 7. 59 grm. is probably a "gold strike" from a die for silver coining.

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stantinus aug (31), subsequently altered to *Victoria Constantini aug* (PLATE VIII, 244). In addition some *Principi iuventutis* solidi of the type "Prince holding *vexillum*" (153) were struck. It is natural to assume that this series, also connected with the preparations for the war, was struck immediately before the tricennial year. These issues must have been ordered to be struck by the central mint.[1]

The decreasing importance of the old capital, Rome — at least financially — is demonstrated by the conspicuous lack of gold coins struck by the Roman mint. We had a meager issue during the vicennial celebrations. Later only two marks are known, R and PR, both, it seems, from the end of the Constantinian epoch.[2] The first PR coins are of the type *Victoria nob caess* showing Victory advancing l., holding a standard in each hand (268). Later the same wording appears with the type Victory advancing l., holding trophy and palm branch (mintmark PR, 269). One R-marked coin only is known of the same type as the latter PR coin and of the reverse legend *Victoria aug* (217).[3] The style of the portraits points to a late date. The reverses demonstrate the isolation — rather than independence — of the mint of Rome.

[1] The assumption that Constantine visited Antioch in the Spring 336 is tempting but probably too adventurous. Seeck's *Regesten* show the Emperor to have been in Constantinople on November 7, 335 and on August 22, 336. We have previously concluded that the final tricennial celebrations took place in his capital on July 25, 336. This would still leave room for a journey to the East, but as the literary sources are silent, it is prudent to decline this possibility.

[2] The solidus *Spes reipublicae* (200) marked R ☿ P of Fausta (in BM) is irregular in appearance and probably a "gold strike" from a bronze die.

[3] The medallion *Constantinus aug*, Emp. stg. holding standard and scepter (32) weighing 7. 50 grm. is probably a "gold strike" from a silver die.

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VII. CONCLUSIONS

To express in a few words the conclusions of the present study is quite impossible. In a way the preceding analysis has been a conclusion in itself, based on material collected and studied over a considerable time. Those trying to follow the arguments have probably been irritated by the summary account of the basic material, the coins, and by the scanty references to the pertinent collections, publications and sale catalogues. Nevertheless, scarcely any coin mentioned is unpublished.[1]

Summing up the results of the study of the relations between Constantine and Licinius as reflected in the coinage, we note that the bronze coinage is far more explicit than the gold coinage. The main reason is that bronze was struck continuously in most of the mints, whereas gold was issued sporadically and, generally speaking, only in one mint at a time. Of the two chronological problems discussed, the first regarding the date of Constantine's conquest of Italy is solved mainly with the aid of the gold coinage; one of the fundamental dates in the history of Constantine, the year of the "victory of the cross," of the battle of the Milvian Bridge, has to be altered to 311 from 312. The coins prove to be more accurate than the written tradition.

The second problem is solved with the aid of the bronze coinage. The conclusions previously drawn from my study of the coinage of Arelate are strongly supported by the survey of the bronze coinages of other mints. True, the smaller mints yield but meager results — they were obviously out of touch with the politics of the day — but all major mints eloquently show how Licinius was eliminated from the Constantinian bronze coinage on the eve of the nomination of the Caesars, and how the Caesars actually were appointed before the settlement of Serdica on March 1, 317. The Licinian mints are equally outspoken and demonstrate how Constantine disappears from the

[1] E. g. submultiples have been brought into the discussion only when they have contributed something to the understanding of the chronological problems involved.

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obverses and how Licinius stresses his sole-rulership, how in one case in the course of a single mintmark the reverse legend subsequently to this is altered to the plural *augg* and Valens appears as second Augustus, and how, finally, with the same mintmark, Constantine reappears at the same time as the sons of the Augusti are introduced as Caesars. This mintmark certainly gives us the history of Civil War I in a nutshell.

The revision of the dates of the Constantinian Civil Wars is the starting point for an investigation of the Constantinian financial administration.

The main theory developed in this study is that gold coining[1] in the Constantinian Empire[2] was closely connected with the court and with the Emperor. As a rule gold was struck at the temporary residence of the Emperor. This implies that the administrator of the gold coinage, the organizer, was a *comitiva* in the true sense of the word. Only in special cases, e.g., when the Emperor was campaigning and would have been hampered by bringing with him also a part of the civil administration, was the gold coining concentrated at the residence of the court left behind. Some instances of filial issues are known. In the years 320–321, e.g., we have parallel striking at three mints in the same area, Ticinum, Aquileia and Sirmium, obviously necessitated by the military preparations of these years. The last Constantinian gold series of Antioch should be explained in the same way — if our conclusion that the Emperor did not visit Syria in 336 is correct.

The fact that in almost every instance we may assume that the Emperor and the court directed the issues and almost supervised the execution in person gives added significance to the imagery, to the reverse legends, and to the slogans distributed by means of the coins. I have, however, refrained from attempting a new interpretation of the religious and political program of the Emperor in the light of the gold coinage. This important but arduous task is something for the future.

The iconography, too, is likely to appear in new light when studied against the background of the mobile gold minting. This concerns

[1] Obviously silver minting too.
[2] The organization of Licinius appears to have worked differently.

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particularly such details as the development of the diadem, and the successive changes in the arrangement of the hair.

No doubt the new insight we have won of the working of the financial administration is likely to increase our understanding of the economic life of the later Roman Empire. It is remarkable that we can trace no tendency to cater equally to all parts of the Empire: Spain and Africa struck no gold in Constantinian times, Egypt nothing (under Licinian rule a single issue was struck at Alexandria), Antioch nothing during the years 327–335, Italy after the close of the mint of Ticinum nothing except some odd pieces in the last years of Constantine. One would have expected the central mint to have organized transports to far-away parts of the Empire, but it is obvious that the mobility of the gold minting increased the difficulties of segular service if, indeed, such service existed during the reign of Constantine. It appears that the local need of currency and cash was satisfied mainly by the bronze coinages.

The main results of this study, however, are, I believe of chronological character, partly as regards the readjusted itinerary of the Emperor and his suite,[1] partly in the discovery of a new numismatic method of checking the chronological evidence supplied by other sources. May the appended summary[2] speak for itself.

[1] I have not ventured to evaluate the intrinsic significance of the redating of the Constantinian constitutions discussed, nor to draw any conclusions with regard to the possible constitutions that now should be reconsidered, e.g., from the legal and prosopographical point of view.
[2] Cf. p. 102.

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APPENDIX:

A HOARD OF CONSTANTINIAN BRONZE FROM DELOS

Late imperial Delos rests in the obscurity of oblivion unworthy of its great past. Never wholly recovering from the catastrophic destructions in the first century B.C., the Roman (Hellenistic) way of life after the partial reconstruction nevertheless appears to have continued without noticeable break into Byzantine times. The shrine of Apollo, though within a relatively modest frame, retained its fame[1] well into the fourth century, and Julian is said to have asked for its advice before starting his ill-fated Persian campaign.[2] Later the existence of six Christian churches bears witness to the transition from Hellenistic paganism to the Christian faith.[3]

No particular incident during the Late Empire is attached to the name of Delos. Life just went on, one hopes peacefully. Something of the mist of anonymity, however, is shattered by an early fourth century bronze hoard from Delos. Its very existence invites comments, its highly unusual composition seems to explain something of the circumstances surrounding its burial. Moreover, the hoard as such both sheds some light on Constantinian numismatic chronology, and is suggestive of a new methodological approach to coin hoards.

I. The Composition of the Hoard

The large Delos hoard comprising 3797 mainly Constantinian bronze coins was catalogued by Svoronos in 1910,[4] unfortunately at a time when only the first volume of Maurice's *Numismatique Constantinienne* had appeared (even if the majority of the mints had been described earlier in various learned journals). Thus an under-

[1] Pausanias VIII, 33, 2 records that the Athenians in his time used to send a garrison to guard the shrine of Apollo. At that time, he states, the island was deserted by the Delians, "Δηλίων γε ἕνεκα ἔρημός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων," clearly a pessimistic exaggeration.

[2] Theodoretos, *Historia ecclesiastica* III, 21, 1–2.

[3] W. Déonna, *La vie privée des Déliens*, pp. 22 f. Déonna dates the first Christian community to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century with reference to *Inscriptions de Délos*, nos. 2582 ff.

[4] J. Svoronos, *Journal international d'archeologie numismatique* XII (1910), pp. 153–193.

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standable lack of insight into the working of the early fourth century mints in an unfortunate way impaired the value of the work of the great Greek numismatist; e. g. bust and reverse varieties were not recorded in sufficient detail according to present day standards. Printer's errors (?) in some cases had disastrous effects through the mechanical way of using repetitions as often as possible.

The single coins of the hoard can therefore only hesitatingly be accepted as numismatic evidence, whereas the main groups, the general reverse types and the issues distinguished by mintmarks can be expected to serve some useful purpose. Immediately after the publication of the hoard, Kubitschek[1] drew attention to the fact that the hoard was an unusually closed one, the bulk of the coins having been struck during the years 308–318. In fact, a very negligible quantity of the coins exceeds these limits.

The composition of the hoard presents some exceptional and interesting features. Kubitschek pointed out that the hoard, regardless of its site in the Greek archipelago[2], was formed in the West. The latest coins are the two Nicomedian ones marked $\frac{\text{x}}{\text{SMNA}}$, belonging to an issue initiated before Civil War II and struck during the war also. These coins are, however, the only ones struck by a Licinian mint after Civil War I, and they seem to be somewhat later than the rest of the coins.

The character of the hoard emerges most clearly out of a study of the last coins of the Constantinian mints integrated with the hoard. Arranging the coins in chronologically significant groups we get the following subdivision:

(a) marks and series with obverses of Constantine and Licinius, i. e. coins struck before the rupture between the two Augusti interpreted as a prelude to the Civil War (all the earliest coins inclusive of those from the early part of 316).

(b) marks and series with obverses of Constantine alone. These coins show that the relations between the Augusti had been severed; the date is the later part of 316.

[1] W. Kubitschek, "Ein Münzschatz auf Delos," *NZ* 43 (1910), pp. 50–53.
[2] Ibid., p. 53.

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(c) marks and series with obverses of Constantine and his two sons. These coins were struck in the course of the War, when Constantine reacted to Licinius' appointment of Valens as Augustus by elevating his sons to princely rank. This happened in the Autumn of 316.[1]

(d) marks and series with obverses of Constantine, Licinius and their sons. These coins date from the time after the peace treaty and reconciliation at Serdica on 1 March, 317, a date confirmed by our literary sources.

A survey of all the coins belonging to groups (c–d) gives the following results:

MINT	COINS OF GROUPS C–D		ALL COINS OF GROUPS A–D (AUGUSTI + CAESARS)	(C–D) COINS EXPRESSED AS % OF (A–D)
	ALL COINS	OBV. OF CAESARS		
Londinium	—	—	32	—
Lugdunum (closed 317–320)	—	—	88	—
Trier	54	3	75	72
Arelate	61[2]	17	239	25.52
Rome	9	1	2011	0.4
Ticinum	28	4	269[3]	10.41
Aquileia	44	17	57	77.19
Siscia	12	6	70	17.14
Thessalonica	14	4	106	13.20
Heraclea	—	—	18	—
Nicomedia	3	1	40	—
Cyzicus	—	—	116	—
Antioch	—	—	13	—
Alexandria	—	—	24	—
	225	53	3158	—

[1] As to the question of Constantine appointing his sons Caesars in advance of Serdica, where the appointment subsequently was confirmed, cf. Chr. Habicht, *Hermes* 86, 3 (1958), pp. 366f.

[2] Among these the only specimen of a commemorative consecration coin, a REQVIES OPTIMOR MERIT with an obverse of Maximian.

[3] Kubitschek, op. cit., p. 53 counts 123 coins for Licinius from Aquileia. The correct number is 15.

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In the entire hoard (groups a–d) other emperors were also represented, among them Maximin Daza by 168 obverses, Maxentius by 213 obverses. These have not been included in the table. If they had been included, the percentages in the last column would have been slightly lower except for Arelate (the mint was opened after the death of these emperors).

A further analysis of the 225 coins of the groups (c–d) shows that all the three last issues of the Treveran Sol coinage are represented, the latest coin being of Crispus and marked $\frac{F \mid T^1}{\cdot ATR}$. All other coins belong to the issues $\frac{T \mid F}{A,\ BTR}$ and $\frac{T \mid F}{\cdot A,\ BTR}$.

Two issues struck at Arelate after the Imperial reconciliation at Serdica are represented, namely $\frac{R \mid S}{PARL}$ (two coins with Crispus obverses are marked $\frac{R \mid S^2}{ARLB}$) with 36 coins, and $\frac{C \mid S}{PARL}$ with 23 coins; on two coins the letter to left in the field is worn away.

Among the coins from Rome, 7 belong to the first "post-Serdican" issue $\frac{A \mid}{RP}$, one Crispus coin has the rare mintmark $\frac{* \mid}{RQ}$ and the last is the consecration coin mentioned above.

From Ticinum we have 11 coins of the PT issue, 16 of $\frac{P \mid}{PT}$, and one Constantine II marked $\frac{P \mid}{T \cdot T}$. The 44 Aquileian coins all belong to the only postwar issue of the Sol coinage struck at that mint, marked AQP. The same applies to Siscia with six coins with obverses of Constantine marked $\frac{* \mid}{ASIS}$ and six other coins for the Caesars marked ASIS. Thessalonica is represented by ten coins with obverses of

[1] See the present writer's "The Disappearance of Sol," *Arctos*, N. S. II (1958), p. 34 for summary.

[2] Svoronos, op. cit., no. 857 erroneously (?) gives the mintmark as $\frac{R \mid S}{\cdot ARLB}$. Printer's error?

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Constantine and four coins with obverses of Constantine II, and Nicomedia, finally, by one Crispus mintmarked SMNΓ (no. 847) and two Licinius I (nos. 341–2) marked with $\frac{\times}{\text{IIN}}$, one each of *officinae* A and B (the latter of these is described as belonging to Nicomedia although the letters in the exergue are recorded as SMHB, the H probably being a printer's error).

Endeavouring to date these issues, we perceive, according to the present writer's table referred to above[1] that the coins of Rome, Aquileia, Siscia and Thessalonica scarcely had been struck later than 317, whereas the *terminus ante quem* for Trier would be early 319, for Arelate 320 and Ticinum 318. The latest Nicomedian coins, belonging to the same issue that was continued up to and throughout the Civil War II, must be dated to about 321. Of the two major issues struck at Nicomedia between the appointment of the Caesars in 317 and the Civil War II, Kent[2] assigns the first issue with its left facing consular effigies with *mappa* and sceptre to the years 318–320 "in which years the five colleagues all assumed the consulship." The year 320 would therefore fit in very well for the beginning of the following issue, in all Eastern mints marked with $\frac{\text{X}}{\text{IIN}}$ to right in the field. The Nicomedian coins give the approximate burial date[3].

II. The Factual Background

The most interesting feature of the hoard is probably its exceptional composition with its preponderance of coins struck in the West. Normally a hoard "stands in a certain ratio to the amount of the coinage during the period covered by the find...and...this proportion reaches increasing agreement the larger the find is numerically."[4]

[1] "The Disappearance of Sol," p. 34.
[2] J. P. C. Kent, "The Pattern of Bronze Coinage under Constantine I," *NC* 1957, p. 31.
[3] Kubitschek (p. 52) suggests that the hoard was buried shortly before Civil War II, not later than the spring of 324 when the Constantinian fleet with Crispus as nominal commander set out against Licinius from Piraeus. This date is probably too late.
[4] B. Thordeman, "The Lohe Hoard," *NC* 1948, p. 201.

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"But," Thordeman continues, "this rule only applies to hoards which have been collected within the actual area in which the coins were currency." Now it is quite clear that the Delos hoard cannot reflect the coinage in circulation in Delos in the years after Civil War I. The circulation of the bronze coins was ordinarily restricted to the area surrounding the mint in question. This has been demonstrated in numerous cases, most recently probably for Gaul.[1] By common standards we would expect many more coins from the mints of Nicomedia, Cyzicus and Heraclea to have belonged to the hoard, and particularly one would have expected the latest coins to be from the mints located nearest the island.

An analysis of the hoard reveals that, except for the coins of Nicomedia (nos. 341–2, 847) which are according to the present writer the latest coins of the whole hoard, all coins struck during or after Civil War I had been issued in the Constantinian part of the Empire.[2] Before attempting an interpretation of this fact the position of Delos within the imperial administration should be clarified.

Diocletian's reform of the provincial administration transformed *Asia* into seven provinces, one of which was *Insulae*, the province of νήσων Κυκλάδων comprising 53 islands altogether.[3] Despite the fact that the surrounding islands were referred to *Insulae*, Delos together with Skyros, Lemnos and Imbros were referred to the Moesian diocese.[4] It now appears that the province of *Achaia* was created (recreated) by Constantine after Diocletian's reform; there is no

[1] See e.g. the diagram showing the composition of Gallic (and Britannic) hoards in Carson-Kent, "Constantinian Hoards," *NC* 1956, p. 86.

[2] This is strictly speaking not true of the IOVI CONSERVATORI of Thessalonica with the obverse legend IMP CONSTANTINVS PF INV AVG (5 coins in the present hoard, nos. 518–520). These coins were struck by the city of Thessalonica on its own initiative while cut off from its sovereign Licinius by the Constantinian army during Civil War I. The city obviously foresaw the victory of Constantine, but was reluctant to break its relations with Licinius before the armistice. Cf. p. 19 above.

[3] J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, pp. 190ff. Disagreement prevails as to some of these islands. Hierocles, p. 686 refers Amorgos and Astypalaia to *Insulae*; Brandis, *RE* I, col. 194 (*s. v.* Achaia), to Asia.

[4] Hierocles, p. 648, 4, 5 and p. 649, 1, 2. See also E. Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, Diss. Pannonicae I, 14, p. 23. The *Atlas of the Early Christian World* refers Delos to *Insulae* (map 19) and the other three islands mentioned, to *Achaia*.

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Achaia in the Verona list.[1] The Constantinian Achaia, as distinct from the *Achaia* of the late Principate, was a proconsular province and C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus seems to have been one of its first governors if not the first.[2] Now the Moesian diocese, comprising also the province-to-be of *Achaia* was ceded to Constantine at the reconciliation at Serdica; the creation of the new province cannot

[1] See *Notitia dignitatum*, pp. 248f. E. Kornemann, *RE* V, cols. 729–730 (*s. v. Dioecesis*) adds *Achaia*, and thus assumes the province of Achaia to have been preserved in Diocletian's reform. A. H. M. Jones, "The Date and Value of the Verona List," *JRS* 44 (1954), p. 28 believes that Constantine gained control of *Achaia* as early as 313 (*sic*) and that C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus (cf. below) was accorded the proconsulate of *Achaia* at that juncture.

[2] The main source recording Rufinus' career is *CIL* X 5061: "praefecto urbi, comiti Augg nn, corr. Camp., corr. Tusciae et Umbriae, corr. Venitiae (*sic*) et Histriae, cur. alvei Tiberis et Cloacarum sacrae urbis, cur. viae Flaminiae, proconsuli provinciae Achaiae sortito, pontifici dei Solis, auguri, salio Palatino..." Groag, op. cit., pp. 17ff., however, connects a passage in Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis* (II 29,10, pp. 81ff., ed. Kroll-Skutsch) with Rufinus and his father: "eius geniturae pater post geminum ordinarium consulatum in exilium datus est, sed et ipse ob adulterii crimen in exilium datus et de exilio raptus in administrationem Campaniae primum destinatus est, deinde <ad> Achaiae proconsulatum, post vero ad Asiae proconsulatum et praefecturam urbi Romae." Groag appears to be correct in his interpretation of the father as the consul of 316 and 323 (despite the lacking iteration in the *Fasti*) and the first praetorian prefect of Gaul, and the son as the urban prefect mentioned in the inscription quoted above. The details of the career of the younger Rufinus are, however, obscure. The fact that Atina, a Lucanian township, clearly hails him as its patron, its *corrector*, but nevertheless omits the *correctura Lucaniae*, entitles us, with Groag, to supply this office in the list and assign it to the time of Maxentius' usurpation. The wide range of offices held in Italy excludes the possibility that he was in office in *Achaia* in Diocletianic times (as suggested by C. Schuurmans, *De Samenstelling van den Romeinschen Senaat*, no. 776, in typescript only). The chronological order of the highest offices is hard to ascertain. Firmicus Maternus cannot be right when saying that the urban prefecture (315–16) followed after the proconsulate of Africa, the earliest date of which is 324 (note Groag, p. 20, n. 1 "Ich wiederhole, daß das Horoskop eines Astrologen kein staatsrechtlich maßgebendes Dokument darstellt"). It should therefore be enough to accept Firmicus' statement that he held these offices without paying attention to the seeming chronological arrangement. Again, the *CIL* X 5061 appears to enumerate the offices in groups without attempting to record their chronological order (Groag, p. 19, n. 1). The younger Rufinus could therefore very well have been *proconsul Achaiae* after his tenure of the urban prefecture, and the present writer suggests that this actually was the case. (Groag, p. 19, n. 2, records a similar case as such an unusual occurrence in the *cursus honorum*).

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have taken place before that date. The exact time of the reform is uncertain, but Groag (p. 21) is probably correct in assuming that it took some time to complete the necessary arrangements.[1]

In view of Delos' exceptional position in earlier times, it appears very likely that the island in the armistice of 317 was considered part of the Greek mainland and therefore in Constantine's provincial reform referred to *Achaia*. On the other hand it should be remembered that Delos was practically surrounded by parts of the province *Insulae* belonging to the Licinian diocese *Asia*.

Now the hoard we are discussing was found buried in an earthenware jar. It therefore represents a treasure, the ready cash of an individual, a body or an institution.[2] The fact that the hoard is an exceptionally closed one suggests the bulk to be, basically, a kind of cash payment from a stock of bronze coins rather than a great number of coins gathered during a period of time. A further inference from the composition of the hoard is that the main part of it was formed outside Delos. Accepting the year 321, when the last Nicomedian coins were incorporated with the bronze treasure, as the approximate burial date,[3] we realize that it would have been abso-

[1] Though accepting Groag's contention in this respect the author cannot agree with his reasons. He regards the Symmachus mentioned in *Codex Theodosianus* II, 15,1 as holding the office of *vicarius* (of the Moesian diocese). But above p. 40 the present writer has suggested that this constitution should be dated to July 25, 329 instead of 319. This, of course, has no further consequences in this context other than that we cannot automatically supply the title of *vicarius* in the *Codex Theodosianus* II, 4, 1 of February 4, 318, also mentioning Symmachus as addressee. At that time he may well have been *proconsul Achaiae*: whether he preceded or succeeded Rufinus the younger is impossible to determine. At any rate, it is very significant that two of the first officials charged with the administration of *Achaia* were trusted followers of Constantine and Rufinus, one of the two, was an extremely experienced administrator. A third *proconsul* of the same category was Ianuarinus (Groag, pp. 21 f.). The importance of the proconsular province of *Achaia* is also reflected in the rank and repute accorded to its governors within the bureaucracy (Groag, p. 22).

[2] Svoronos (p. 154) suggests a small merchant dealing on the local market. This is impossible in view of the composition of the hoard as the author proposes to demonstrate below.

[3] The question of the burial date is more complex than what would appear at first sight. The absolute *terminus post quem* is the turn of the year 320/321. Chronologically there is a puzzling gap of about two years between the latest Gallic coins and the three Nicomedian coins mentioned above. This indicates that Delos must have been more or less isolated after the arrival of the garrison

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lutely impossible for so many Constantinian coins of Roman origin to flow to Delos through the ordinary channels. And if there had been regular connections with Italy (Rome) rather than with the Greek mainland (and the nearest Constantinian mint, Thessalonica), why was the percentage of post-316 (groups c–d) bronzes struck at Rome so much lower than the corresponding figure of Thessalonica? (Cf. the table above).

The composition of the hoard seems to be most easily interpreted in the following way:

The bulk of the hoard was received as a single sum somewhere in Italy in 316 and this lot of bronze coins can be assumed to have mirrored faithfully the bronze coinage in circulation in Italy at that time—the closer to the mint of Rome the sum was paid, the greater would be the proportion of recently struck coins issued by that mint, and the later the date.[1] In gradually decreasing proportions we would find coins of Ostia, Ticinum, Aquileia, Siscia, the Gallic, the Balkan and the Eastern mints (probably not more than stray pieces of the latter).

The recipient (presumably an army contingent) then was transferred to Gaul; the percentage of post-316 (groups c–d) Arelatensian bronze coins together with the remarkably high number of coins of Arelate, points to the Via Aurelia as the travelling route up to Arelate.

The Nicomedian coins show that the isolation was broken some time in 321, but nothing prevents us from assuming that the isolation continued until the time of the incident, which forced the individual in charge of the treasure to bury it. This may well have happened a couple of years after the 321 incident. It would therefore be more correct to give the burial date as 321–324 (inclusive). Our estimate of the burial date does not, however, affect the interpretation of the composition of the hoard.

[1] Theoretically we could even play with the thought of interpolating the exact spot in a case, in which we could establish

(a) the relative numerical strength of the output of two mints, and
(b) the exact dates of all the coins of the hoard, or at least of the latest coins of both mints, if normal (peaceful) conditions had prevailed in the geographical area concerned up to the time of burial.

Assuming the latest coins of both mints to be exactly contemporary, and having worked out, on the basis of an independent and a very much larger group of material than that supplied by the hoard, that the mint A had an output twice that of the mint B, by equal representation of both mints in the hoard, the exact spot would be located so that the distance from A would be twice the distance from B.

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Here additional cash was supplied—alternatively the coins of Arelate naturally poured in by way of exchange.[1] The small total number of Treveran coins (75 against 239 struck at Arelate) is particularly interesting in view of the fact that 54 pieces (72%) were post-316 (groups c–d). Two explanations appear to be possible, either that the person or body in question travelled to Trier but was forced to leave almost instantly, or that the army contingent staying in Arelate received reinforcements from Trier and that some of the cash brought forth from Trier trickled into the official treasure. At any rate, at a time suggested by the last date of the Gallic coins (probably 318) the contingent was dispatched to Aquileia (57 coins, 44 of which are post-316 from groups c–d), where mainly local coins trickled into the treasure, but also, in decreasing proportions, coins from Thessalonica, Siscia, Ticinum, Rome etc. This accounts for the post-316 coins from these mints (Rome only 9 coins out of 2011 in the table above, Ticinum 28 of 269–10.41%, Siscia 12 of 70–17.14%, Thessalonica 14 of 106–13.20%. The corresponding percentage of Aquileia is 77.19, the highest of any mint represented in the hoard).

To this comes a lot of almost 300 bronze pieces (group b, cf. p. 79 above) struck at Rome at a time when the bulk of the coins of this mint had already been incorporated in the treasure. The almost 300 coins in question were in my opinion struck during Civil War I fought between Autumn 316 and March 1, 317 and seem to have been shipped to Delos directly from Italy (Brundisium, cf. p. 96 below). The bulk of the coins had left Rome on the eve or in the early days of the war, while these coins were struck at Rome later, but before the end of the war. The 9 post-316 (groups c–d) coins are of later date.

In Aquileia the contingent embarked and headed for Delos. In Delos we would expect the coins in circulation to influence the composition of the hoard, and clear traces of the money market in Licinian times can be found. If we in the table above extract the coins struck by Licinian mints, we get a total of 361, less than 10% of the entire hoard. Some of these coins may well have slipped in at

[1] And, of course, not only coins of Arelate, but also in decreasing proportions coins of Lugdunum, Trier, Londinium, Ticinum, etc. The fact that no post-316 Londinian coins were found in the hoard is suggestive with regard to the length of the stay in Arelate.

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earlier stages of the travel of the treasure, particularly at Aquileia, but the Cyzicene quota (116 coins) cannot be explained in this way. Again the fact that only three post-316 (groups c–d) coins struck in the East were found in the hoard, shows that peaceful intercourse between Constantinian Delos and the surrounding islands of the Licinian province *Insulae* was negligible.[1] The majority of the 361 Licinian coins mentioned above must therefore have been in circulation on the island when the Constantinian garrison arrived.[2]

Finally, we must assume that the Greek mainland kept in touch with Delos, and through this channel coins representative of the bronze coinage circulating in this area (mainly struck at Thessalonica, but necessarily also to some extent of old Licinian stock) oozed forth into Delos to be added to the hoard. The isolation of Delos must, however, have been fairly complete in view of the chronological gap between the latest Constantinian coins and the latest coins of the hoard, the two Nicomedian coins mentioned above. Remarkably enough no Thessalonican coins of later date than the Sol coinage belonged to the hoard.[3]

It remains to explain the burial of the hoard. Kubitschek (p. 52) suggested the Spring of 324 and connected the burial with Crispus' moving the Constantinian fleet from Achaia northwards. Although the relative isolation of Delos, stressed in the preceding paragraph, might account for the absence of any coins later than 320–321, and thus explain such a late burial date, the very reason for burying the coins remains obscure if Kubitschek's views are to be accepted. The present writer therefore prefers to regard the burial against the background of the tension between Constantine and Licinius gradually growing from late 320 onwards. Our knowledge of the prelude to Civil War II is scanty. We know of Constantine's Sarma-

[1] With regard to the presumable travelling slowness of the bronze coins we may possibly except the first year after the reconciliation of Serdica.

[2] On the other hand the paucity of Licinian coins mixed with the hoard during the three or more years that passed until the coins were buried shows that economic life in Delos was very quiet indeed.

[3] As to the date, see the author's "The Disappearance of Sol," p. 34 and, as regards the last IOVI CONSERVATORI of this mint, see above, p. 18. The presence of the latest Nicomedian coins might be due e.g. to a chance visit of a smaller vessel from Asia Minor.

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tian War and of his violations of Licinian territory in the years preceding the Civil War. It would therefore be little surprising to find traces of similar actions along the sea frontier. Delos with its garrison must have been a thorn in the flesh to Licinius, a threat to the Licinian communications in the Aegaean, otherwise dominated by the East. It is feasible that a sudden raid finished the garrison on Delos; depending on our estimate of the burial date this raid could either be regarded as Licinian reprisals for Constantine's disregard of the division of the Empire as agreed upon at Serdica, or as the reason (or one of the reasons), for Constantine to operate with his army in Licinian *Thracia*.

Again, Constantine's decision to detach a contingent of his army to Delos[1] points to early planning of the second and decisive war against Licinius, and to an endeavour to use his bridgehead in the Licinian archipelago as well as possible.[2] The Licinian raid was certainly justified—from the strategic point of view.

III. The Numismatic Chronology

According to views expressed earlier by the present writer, the Sol coinage dominated the years 317–319 in Trier, and 317–320 in Arelate (where it continued to be struck contemporarily with other types during the years 321–322 although at that time forming a decreasing proportion of the entire output of the mint).[3] In Siscia and Ticinum the Sol coinage was followed by the VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP issues in 317 and 318, respectively. No single coin of this type was included in the hoard. But the author's contention that the plain vota coins (DN CONSTANTINI MAX AVG-VOT XX, CAESARVM NOSTRORVM-VOT V etc.) at Arelate were struck in

[1] The composition of the hoard, clearly indicating the travels of the one-time treasure, excludes the possibility that the coins had been brought to Delos through ordinary channels of trade, or by an individual merchant. But even if that had been the case, the factual explanation of the hoard would scarcely differ from the one offered.

[2] The recreation of the province of Achaia and the decision to make Achaia a proconsular province, and further, the appointment of Rufinus, Symmachus, (?), and Ianuarinus as *proconsules Achaiae* also shows the importance attached to the province. Administrative views may well coincide with military reasons.

[3] "The Disappearance of Sol," summary on p. 34.

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consecutive issues during the years 317–321,[1] contemporarily with the Sol issues, receives no corroboration through the Delos hoard. On the contrary, although the Sol issues were by far the more numerous of the two, the natural selection of the current issues would have also included vota coins had both coinages been contemporary, and had the later Sol issue of the two represented in the hoard $\frac{C \mid S}{(PARL)}$ really been struck as late as 319–320. Therefore, it seems necessary to squeeze the Gallic Sol issues within a shorter span of time, both in Arelate and in Trier, and assume that no major vota issues had been struck contemporarily (conceivably in 317–318; this would seem to support Mr. Carson's and Dr. Kent's view that the issues were "consecutive and exclusive, not contemporary."[2] Even so that does not mean that the Sol coinage ceased to be struck simultaneously in all the Western mints).[3] As regards the controversial date of the commemorative consecration coins, the composition of the hoard does not seem to speak against the date (317) suggested by the author.[4]

In the present hoard the coins struck at Rome after New Year 317 were very scarce (9) and among them one was of the type REQVIES OPTIMOR MERIT- understandable with regard to the very big issues struck of these series. The corresponding REQVIES issues of the other

[1] P. Bruun, *The Constantinian Coinage of Arelate*, pp. 78–82.
[2] Kent, "Pattern," p. 32.
[3] Sol in actual fact disappears much later from the coinage. Sirmium, opened according to different views in 320 (Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne* II, p. 387) or 324 (Voetter, *NZ* 1913, p. 133), struck four different reverses of Sol, and Sol appears on gold coins of Aquileia, Ticinum, and Siscia as well. The last Constantinian Sol coins, SOLI COMITI AVG N was actually struck at Antioch in 324, after Civil War II (cf. above, pp. 63f.).
[4] Cf. *Arelate*, pp. 39–43 and also "Some Dynastic Bronze Coins," *Eranos* LIII, pp. 193–198. Quite independently of the Delos hoard, however, one might advocate a slight readjustment of the possible dates (317–320) suggested on the basis of an examination of the Langwith, Luxor, and Nagytétény hoards (*Arelate*, p. 43) and further pinned down to 317 (ibid., p. 41). The hoard evidence should in the author's opinion be accepted but the consecration coins should be dated as struck after the Sol coinage, at least in some mints. All Sol issues of Trier use A and B as *officina* letters whereas the *officina* letters of the Treveran consecration coins are P and S. The consecration coins, therefore, are of later date.

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mints, Arelate, Trier, Aquileia, Siscia and Thessalonica were lacking. Again, had these coins been issued before 317, the lack of more coins from Rome would have been very surprising indeed. At any rate, Kent's notion that these issues dated from the time immediately preceding Civil War II (recorded as belonging to the period 320–324, or 321–324), appears impossible.[1]

Finally a few words remain to be said with regard to the extremely rich material from Rome. Svoronos did not attempt any chronological grouping, and the flan sizes recorded by him are suggestive but not conclusive (in some cases even controversial when e. g. all the coins mintmarked $\frac{R|F}{R*P}$ with obverses of Licinius have the diameter 21 mm. whereas the corresponding coins with obverses of Constantine measure 22 mm.).

Now, if we assume that all the coins preserved to our days are a fair representation of the coins struck in antiquity, and if we take a fair selection of collections and calculate that, despite the haphazard way in which many of these collections have been brought together, the various factors tending to give any one collection a particular character, are likely to counterbalance one another, something might be gained by comparing the coins of a certain hoard with the number of the corresponding coins found in the collections. Taking the coins of the Delos hoard struck at Rome and comparing them with the material collected by the present writer, we get the following result:[2]

[1] Kent, "Pattern," nos. 218–223, 545–565, 699–701, 770–772, 837–842, 906–908.

[2] The collections recorded in *Arelate*, pp. ix f., and in addition, the Museo Nazionale, Museo Capitolino, and Bibliotheca Vaticana in Rome and the Munich collection. The hoards mentioned in *Arelate* do not affect the material from the mint of Rome.

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MINTMARK	COINS IN THE HOARD	MATERIAL COLLECTED	%
RP (all large coins)	168	487	34.70
RP (SPQR POPVLI ROMANI)[1]	86	165	52.12
R|F / RP	106	77	137.66
R|F / R*P	416	156	266.67
R X|F / RP	586	147	398.64
S|F / RP	231	91	253.85
C|S / RP	20	83	24.10
*|⌣ / RP	26	57	45.62
RP (small size)	294	100	294.0
A| / RP	8[2]	99	8.08

Before an interpretation of these figures is attempted, the sequence of mintmarks should be discussed briefly. The first mark employed after the battle of the Milvian Bridge is RP using the long obverse legend IMP C CONSTANTINVS PF AVG.[3] This mark was followed by

[1] This particular type was chosen as a means of checking the result. As no coins of this type with the early long obverse legend are known, the type belongs to the later part of the issue; its percentage should therefore be slightly higher than the figure for the entire issue. The table proves this assumption to be correct. Moreover, this also seems to show that Svoronos' grouping of the less easily classified Sol coins of the mark RP on the whole is correct. If we include the coins of Daza in the figures above the percentages are slightly higher, as could be expected, 35.96 and 53.09, respectively.

[2] The consecration coins have been excluded. Of these series the writer's material comprises some 200 specimens.

[3] Note the same phenomenon in Ostia and Arelate. Cf. ***Arelate***, p. 15, C. King, "The Maxentian Mints," *NC* 1959, pp. 65, 74, and Kent, "Pattern," p. 50, recording this mark as the earliest. Kent, however, does not discuss the significance of the long and short obverse legends.

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$\frac{*|}{RP}$ and $\frac{|*}{RP}$ using the same long obverse legend, and subsequently by a second RP series employing exclusively short obverse legends.[1] The latter series, of reduced standards, is the last one in which coins of Daza appear. The order of the subsequent marks is more difficult to establish. The decrease in module is almost imperceptible,[2] but nevertheless the R|F coins, which logically should form one group despite the varying serial marks, seem to be slightly larger and therefore earlier than the others. The correctness of this assertion is shown by the fact that the type MARTI CONSERVATORI was struck with the two former R|F marks, and the striking of this type was discontinued well in advance of *Soli invicto comiti* in other mints,[3] and, therefore, probably in Rome as well. Assuming a development of mint-marks from plain marks to compound ones, we get the sequence $\frac{R|F}{RP}, \frac{R|F}{R*P}, \frac{R\ X|F}{RP}$ after mid-313, the war against Daza. The crucial question is now the internal order of the remaining marks. The decrease in module suggests the S|F mark to be the earliest (21 mm. according to Svoronos), the $\frac{*|\smile}{RP}$ the last (19/21 mm.) with the $\frac{C|S}{RP}$ as the second.[4]

[1] Kent, ibid. See also King, op. cit., p. 74 who, however, speaks of a single RP issue.

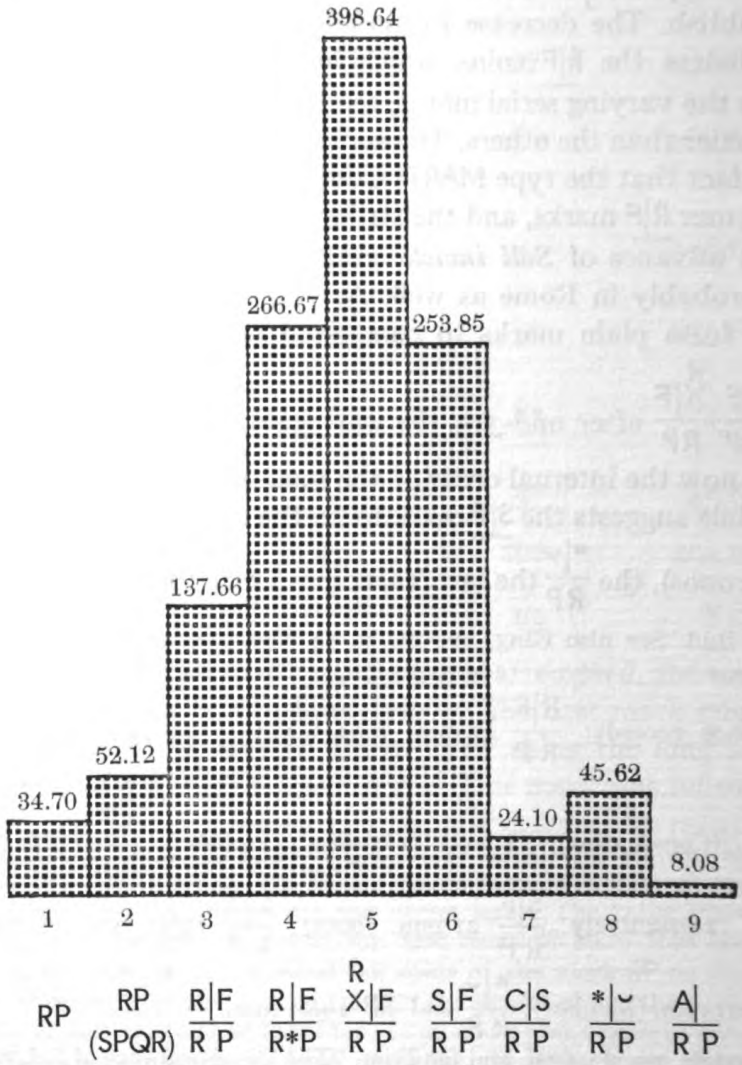
[2] Svoronos records: $\frac{R|F}{R\ P}$ 21 mm. (Constantine), 21 mm. (Licinius); $\frac{R|F}{R*P}$ 22 mm. (Constantine), 21 and 21/23 mm. (Licinius); $\frac{R\ X|F}{R\ P}$ 19/21 mm. and 21 mm. respectively; $\frac{S|F}{R\ P}$ 21 mm. (both); $\frac{C|S}{R\ P}$ 19/21 mm. (Constantine), 20 and 21 mm. (Licinius); $\frac{*|\smile}{R\ P}$ and RP 19/21 mm.

[3] See *Arelate*, pp. 23, 65 ff. and for Trier, "The Disappearance of Sol," pp. 18 ff.

[4] The internal order of the C|S mark on the one hand and the *|⌣ mark and the RP series on the other is of some historical significance. No obverse of Licinius was struck in the course of the two latter, which therefore can be assumed to have been struck during Civil War I. If the C|S series is considered

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We now return to the table above and to the percentages of the entire material constituted by the Delos coins. In actual fact we get a frequency curve, even if irregular on the right hand side of the diagram, representing the chronologically last mark of the series.



to be later, that would imply that Constantine after the war issued bronze coins depicting both him and his fellow-ruler in the East before the nomination of the Caesars, confirmed at Serdica on March 1, 317. The Civil War would in this case have been fought in 314/315 and not in 316/317.

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One important sequence of coins has, however, been omitted in these discussions, the third and obviously late RP series, the diameter of which was recorded as 19/21 mm. by Svoronos. The series comprises two types of *Soli invicto comiti*, the ordinary "Sol standing left, holding globe," and the exceptional "Sol with captive." Both types were struck exclusively with obverses of Constantine.

The difficulty in determining the position of the RP series in the sequence of mintmarks is the absence of other chronological criteria except for the measurements of Svoronos. Minor inaccuracies in Svoronos' lists would not have affected the treatment of the other series, all distinguished by clear serial marks. Now the type "Sol stg. l." is common to all three RP issues. Here all the coins of a diameter of 24 and 23/24 mm. have been referred to the earlier issues, whereas the coins of 19/21 mm. have been regarded as belonging to the late issue. However, in view of the difficulty of classifying coins on the evidence of measurement alone, Svoronos' figures should be treated with caution. On the other hand, the figures concerning the type *SPQR populi Romani* suggest that the maximum error cannot be very significant.

On the evidence of flan size the RP series should either precede or follow after the $\frac{*|\smile}{R\ P}$ mark; the probability of this contention is strengthened by the common feature of the two series: the absence of Licinian obverses. Theoretically, however, with the frequency curve as a point of departure, the RP issue with its percentage 294 could fit in between the $\frac{R|F}{R*P}$ (266.67%) and the $\frac{R}{X|F}$ (398.64%). In practice it appears very unlikely that the three RF's should not have been consecutive.[1] On the declining (right) side of the curve the RP percentage[2] could possibly fit in between the peak and the

[1] Though too much heed should not be paid to the short series "Sol with captive," the numerous coins (far too many to be overlooked) of the regular Sol type would constitute a serious difficulty; if treated separately from the "Sol with captive" type, this series would be the peak of the curve.

[2] If we regard the two types separately we get the following result: "Sol with captive" 18 Delos coins, 53 in the material, i.e. 33.96% "Sol standing l." 276 Delos coins, 47 in the material, i.e. 589.36%.

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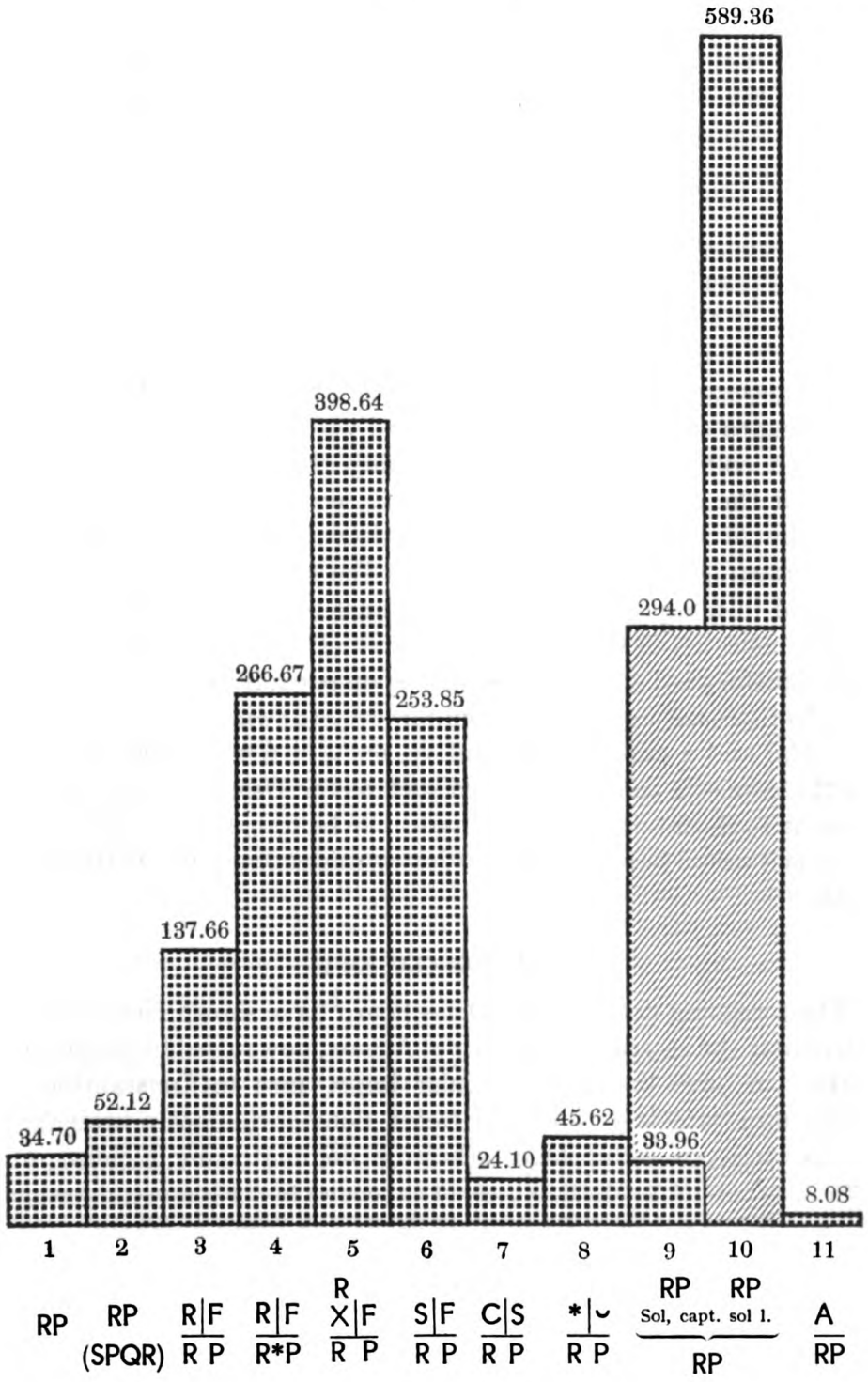
$\frac{S|F}{RP}$ (253.85%). The curve, interpreted in terms of political history would in this case give us the unexpected picture of two conflicts with Licinius (an idea previously suggested by Seston, and later elaborated by Andreotti)[1] with a peaceful period marked by the S|F and C|S series in between .Two facts speak against this solution, the flan sizes and the short time shown to have passed e. g. by the bronze coins of Trier between the rupture between Constantine and Licinius on the one hand and the official nomination of the Caesars at Serdica on the other. Thus it remains to place the RP series as immediately preceding the $\frac{A|}{R\ P}$ mark. This gives us the following curve—with two peaks (cf. p. 97):

How can this curve be explained?

One would, naturally, expect the issue current at the time when the hoard was collected to show the highest percentage. We have here two such instances. The bulk of the hoard would have been collected towards the close of the $\frac{S|F}{A|}$ issue. Later an addition was made in the very beginning of the $\frac{A|}{R\ P}$ issue, comprising mostly late RP coins (possibly delivered directly from the mint as is suggested by the extraordinary high figure for the "Sol stg. l." type). Some earlier coins could very well have flowed into the treasure at the same time; in view of the few coins of the C|S, *|⌣ and R|P (Sol with captive) series little importance need be attached to the variations of the percentage figures of these series. It is feasible that this part of the hoard never travelled very widely before it was shipped to Delos. It could have been shipped directly from Brundisium as cash for the garrison to be sent to Delos, possibly together with some troops. (With regard to the chronological discrepancy between this part of the hoard and the one shipped from Aquileia, one might even advocate that the consignment from Rome-Brundisium constituted the primary part, and the consignment from Gaul-Aquileia the secondary part, the reinforcement).

[1] W. Seston, "Relazioni," *Int. Hist. Congr.* VI (1955), p. 426, n. 3. R. Andreotti, "Licinius" in Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, cols. 1004–1111.

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We may add that some of the earlier coins possibly were incorporated with the treasure at a later stage in Arelate, or still later, in Aquileia. The possible additions made when the army contingent was in Aquileia would chronologically be slightly later than the expiry of the $\frac{A|}{R\,P}$ issue in view of the natural time lag.

With regard to all the facts known concerning the Delos hoard, it seems possible to explain its structure in detail. As to the general validity of the method employed, many objections can be raised. The basic material must be considerable and collected equally in the whole geographical area covered by the hoard.[1] It would obviously be wrong to compare an Eastern hoard with the coin material of the Western collections. Further, assuming that the hoard contained coins of the same weight and module, no unequivocal conclusions as to the chronological sequence of marks could be drawn. Considering the percentages only, the columns of the frequency curve could be grouped in many different ways. It must be assumed that a simple hoard, collected in the geographical area of the burial, would give us a straightforward curve similar to that on p. 94, if we exclude columns 7–9. In this case, however, it would be easy to switch nos. 4 and 6, but nos. 1(2) and 3 must be consecutive, no. 4 or 6 must precede no. 5.[2] In the case of a composite hoard such as the Delos one, only certain clues as to the internal order of marks can be found, but without other criteria it would be all too easy to draw a misleading curve with a single peak.

IV. Conclusions

The foregoing notes on the Delos hoard have shown Greece and in particular the recreated province of Achaia, now raised to proconsular status, to have been of particular importance to Constantine, no doubt on strategic grounds. In Delos, Constantine got a bridgehead in the Aegaean archipelago, otherwise dominated by Licinius, and

[1] The coins struck in the East were of no concern in this context; the subject of examination was the coins struck in the mint of Rome. These coins mainly circulated in the West, and the author's material comprised the coins of the major Western collections.

[2] Had the coins which were paid in Italy (first batch) been buried immediately after having been received, we would have had no columns 7–9.

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it is permissible to assume that the burial of the hoard was caused by a Licinian raid on the island. In Civil War II the navies of the two adversaries played an important part; Athens and Piraeus seem to have been one of the foremost bases of Crispus, and Licinius' later concern with his possibilities to master the sea is mirrored in an Egyptian papyrus.[1]

The extraordinary composition of the hoard, in view of the burial place, allowed us to trace in detail the history of its formation, and at the same time gave us some clues as to the date of certain of the coin series included in (or absent from) the hoard:

(1) The commemorative consecration coins should probably be accorded a slightly later date than the one previously suggested by the present writer. The year 320 should nevertheless be regarded as a *terminus ante quem*.

(2) The dates of the Sol coinages of the Western mints should probably be readjusted. It is feasible that they, generally speaking, disappeared as early as 318–319.

(3) The earliest so called plain vota coins were scarcely contemporary with the Sol coinage. The hoard suggests that the bronze coinages were consecutive and exclusive rather than contemporary and over-lapping.

Finally an attempt was made to compare the numerical strength of the different issues of the mint of Rome with the large material collected by the author, assuming this material to be a fair representation of the bronze coins in circulation at the time covered by the hoard. This method, if used with caution, and with due regard to the individual characteristics of each hoard, seems to give some clues as to the internal order of mintmarks.

[1] P. Vindob. Boswinkel 14 of A.D. 323; cf. C. H. Roberts, "A Footnote to the Civil War of A.D. 324," *JEA* 31 (1945), p. 113: "... Chrysopolis, a victory itself only made possible by the destruction of a large part of Licinius' fleet in the Dardanelles. Both sides had built up powerful fleets and Egypt contributed no less than 130 ships to the losing side. If much of Licinius' fleet consisted of such old tubs as are described (l. 3 πολύκωπα παλαιωθέντα) in the Vienna papyrus (which I should assign to A.D. 323 when it became apparent that war was inevitable), it is hardly surprising that it proved no match for the numerically inferior squadrons of Constantine."

In view of the military activities involving Delos we may assign an even earlier date to the papyrus.

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THE ITINERARY OF CONSTANTINE

AS REFLECTED IN THE IMPERIAL CONSTITUTIONS AND IN THE GOLD COINAGE

TIME	RESIDENCE OF COURT	EMPEROR STAYING IN		CENTER OF GOLD COINING[1]	FILIAL ISSUES
		PLACE	SOURCE		
306-Spring 311	Trier	Trier[2]	literary	TR–PTR	—
Spring-Oct. 28, 311	Trier	campaigning	literary	PTR	—
New Year 312-	Rome	Rome	rev. type[3]	PR	POST, POST*
Late 312-early 313	Ticinum	Ticinum	lit.; rev. type	SMT	—
313	Ticinum-Trier	Arelate	minting	PARL	—
Late 313-July 25, 315	Trier	Trier	CTh; rev. type	PTR	—
Autumn 315	Ticinum	Rome	CTh	SMT	—
October 315	Ticinum	Milan	CTh	SMT	—
End of 315	Ticinum	Italy	CTh	SMT; PT; ·T·	—
Early 316	Ticinum	Trier	CTh	SMT	
Spring-Summer 316	Ticinum	Gaul	CTh	SMT	PTR[4]
Autumn 316	Ticinum	campaigning	literary	SMT	
Early 317	Siscia	Siscia	rev. type	PS; SIS; ·SIS·	PTR
March 317–318	Thessalonica	Thessalonica, E. Europe	CTh; minting	·SM·TS·	

[1] Instead of the name of the mint the mintmark used for the issue in question has been recorded in this column.

[2] During this period Trier was the permanent residence of the Emperor, and the Treveran mint the only one to strike gold. The limited area of Constantine's realms made it unnecessary to move the goldminting when the Emperor left his capital.

[3] This entry is used when a reverse type unequivocally indicates either the time of issue or the temporary residence of the Emperor (e.g. consular or *Adventus* type).

[4] Trier has been entered in this column only when the gold coining of the mint appears to have been influenced from the outside.

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TIME	RESIDENCE OF COURT	EMPEROR STAYING IN		CENTER OF GOLD COINING	FILIAL ISSUES
		PLACE	SOURCE		
New Year-end 318	Aquileia	Aquileia	CTh; rev. type	AQ	
319	Ticinum	Sirmium	CTh	SMT	
320	Sirmium	Serdica	CTh	SIRM	·AQ·; AQ
Early 320	Sirmium	Serdica	CTh	SIRM	
321	Sirmium	Sirmium	CTh; rev. type	SIRM; ·SIRM·	
322	Sirmium	Sirmium, campaigning	CTh; lit.	SIRM	
323	Sirmium	Sirmium, campaigning	CTh; lit.	SIRM	
Early 324	Sirmium	Sirmium	CTh; rev. type	SIRM; ·SIRM·	
Spring 324	Thessalonica?	Thessalonica	CTh; minting	SMTSA	
Summer-Sept. 18, 324	Thessalonica	campaigning	literary	SMTSA	SIRM
Autumn 324	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	rev. type	SMN	SMT; SMAQ
Winter 324–325	Nicomedia	Cyzicus	minting	SMKE	
Winter 324–325	Nicomedia	Antioch	rev. type	SMAN; SMAN; SMAN*	
Spring-Summer 325	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	CTh; minting	SMN	
Autumn 325	Nicomedia	Thessalonica[1]	minting	THES	
New Year 326	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	minting	N	SMAN
Early 326	Nicomedia	Thessalonica	rev. type	SMTS	SMAN
April-May 326	Nicomedia	Sirmium	CTh; minting	SIRM	MNA[2]
Early summer 326	Nicomedia	Ticinum	minting	SMT	
July-August 326	Nicomedia	Rome	CTh; lit.; rev. type	SMR	TR
Early 327	Nicomedia	Siscia	rev. type	SIS	CONS[3]

[1] There is some difficulty in believing that Constantine should have been in Thessalonica both in the Autumn 325 and early in 326.

[2] Exact date of issue in doubt. The question is whether the anniversaries of the Caesars were celebrated on March 1 or on July 25, co-ordinated with the anniversaries of Constantine.

[3] This filial issue actually struck in the Autumn of 326.

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TIME	RESIDENCE OF COURT	EMPEROR STAYING IN		CENTER OF GOLD COINING	FILIAL ISSUES
		PLACE	SOURCE		
March-April 327	Nicomedia	Thessalonica	CTh; minting	SMTS	
Autumn-Winter 327–28	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	CTh; minting	SMN	
End of 328	Nicomedia	Trier	CTh; minting	TR	$\frac{\|S}{SMN}$ $\frac{B\|}{CONS}$[4]
End of 329	Nicomedia	Heraclea	CTh; minting	SMHER; SMH	
Winter 329–330	Nicomedia	Nicomedia	minting	SMN	
Spring-Summer 330	Constantinople	Constantinople	CTh; lit.; rev. type	CONS	
July 330	Constantinople	Nicomedia	rev. type	SMN	
Winter 330–331	Constantinople	Thessalonica	rev. type	MTS	
Winter 332–333	Constantinople	Thessalonica	minting	TS	
Winter 333–334	Constantinople	Constantinople	CTh; minting	CONS	
Summer 334	Constantinople	Siscia	lit.; minting	SIS	
Winter 334–335	Constantinople	?	?		SMAN[1]
July 335	Constantinople	Nicomedia	rev. type	SMN	TR
Autumn 335	Constantinople	Siscia	rev. type	SIS; ·SIS·	SMAQ[2]
October 335	Constantinople	Thessalonica	rev. type	TSE	
Winter 335–336	Constantinople	Constantinople	CTh; minting	CONS	SMAN; TR
Spring 336	Constantinople	Antioch[3]	minting	$\frac{P\|LXXII}{SMAN}$	
July 336–337	Constantinople	Constantinople	CTh; rev. type	CONS	$\frac{P\|LXXII}{SMAN\cdot;}$ PR; R

[1] Struck before the beginning of the tricennial year. We have no indication as to the Emperor's whereabouts.

[2] One coin only is known. It is possible that Constantine returned from Siscia to Thessalonica by way of Aquileia.

[3] In the text, p. 74, n. 1 above, I have not ventured to suggest that Constantine visited Antioch in 336, although it is quite feasible that he did.

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INDEX OF REVERSE LEGENDS

This index of reverse legends does not aim at recording the gold coinage completely, but at illustrating the coins and numismatic landmarks discussed in the text (where e.g. submultiples have been included only when they have contributed something to the chronological discussion). Occasionally a cursory rev. description has been added to keep apart types of identical legg. struck with the same m. m. The point has been to illustrate the type, not to mention all possible obverse varieties. When gold was struck in several off., one off. only has been indicated. Collections referred to have been abbreviated as follows:

ANSM (American Numismatic Society Museum)
Aqu(ileia)
B(erlin)
Bel(grade, *ex* Weifert coll.)
Bu(dapest)
C(openhagen)
DO (Dumbarton Oaks)
H (The Hague)
Hu(nterian Museum, Glasgow)
L(ondon, British Museum)
Len(ingrad)
M(unich)
Mi(lan)
Ox(ford)
P(aris)
Pa (Paris, ancien catalogue)
RC (Rome, Museo Capitolino)
RT (Rome, Museo delle Terme)
St(ockholm)
V(ienna).

The roman numbers preceding the no. of the rev. leg. refer to the plates. Rev. legg. recorded in this index have not necessarily been mentioned by legend in the text.

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3 SMNΓ, d'Ennery p. 189 no. 11[1], p. 61
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[1] There is reason to suspect that the rev. leg. recorded as ADVENTVS AVG N, is incorrect.

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[1] Gold despite silver mark on plate.

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[1] Cf. Cohen 154, Maur. II, p. 273, rev. VI.
[2] I am greatly indebted to Prof. Bellinger for his kindness in drawing attention to this unique solidus.

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[1] A wide range of varieties both of denominations and of obv., all of Const., in different coll.

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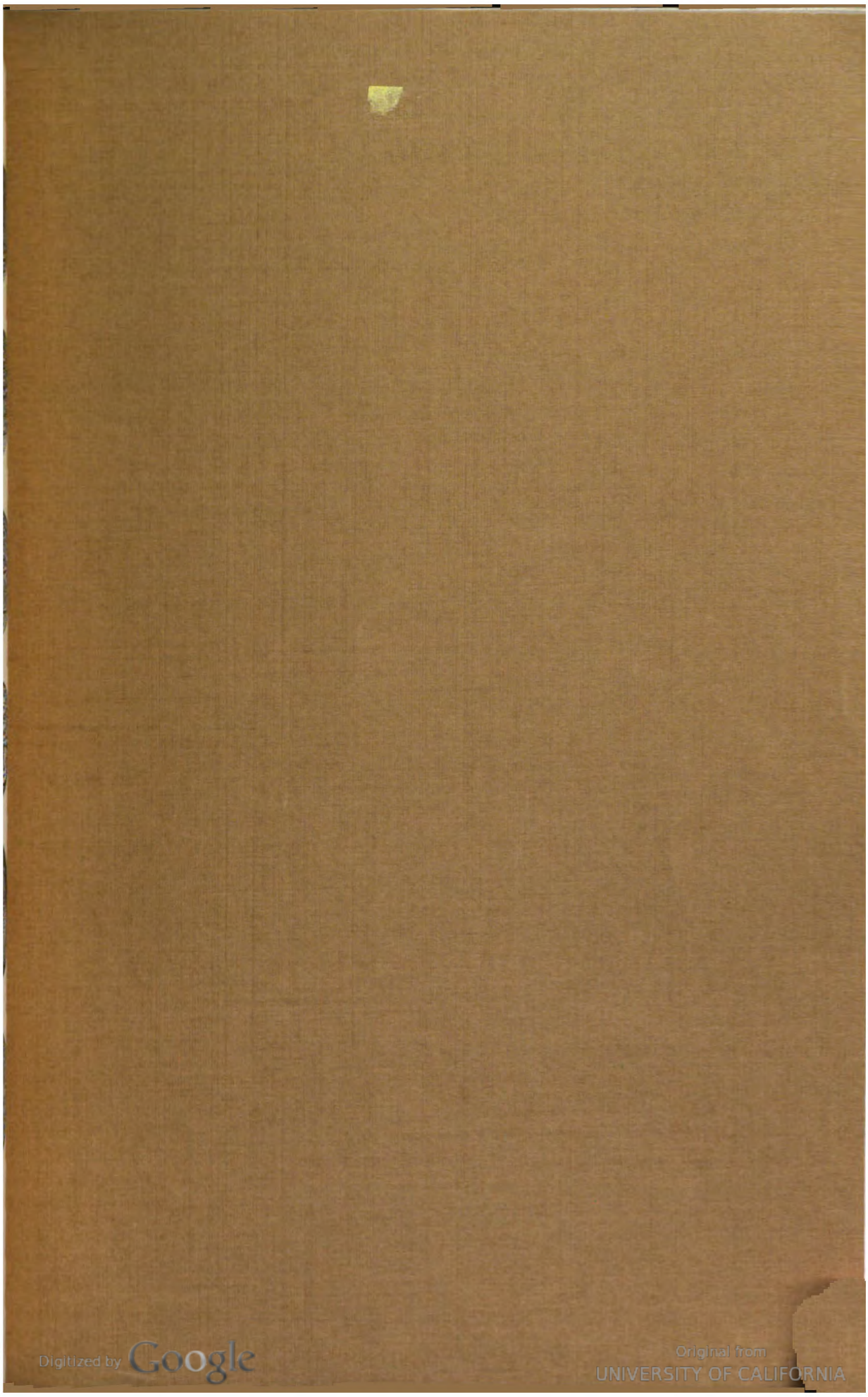


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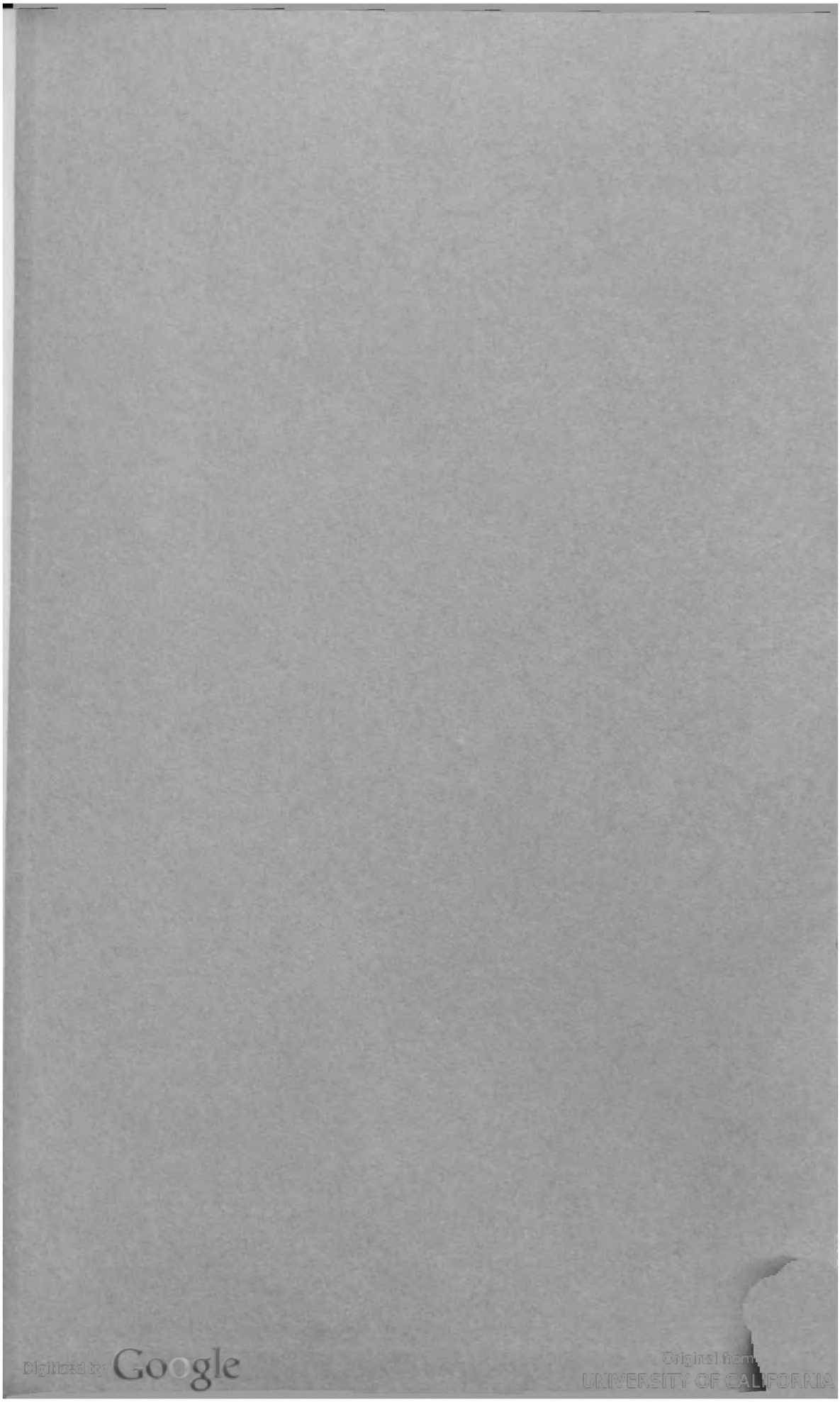
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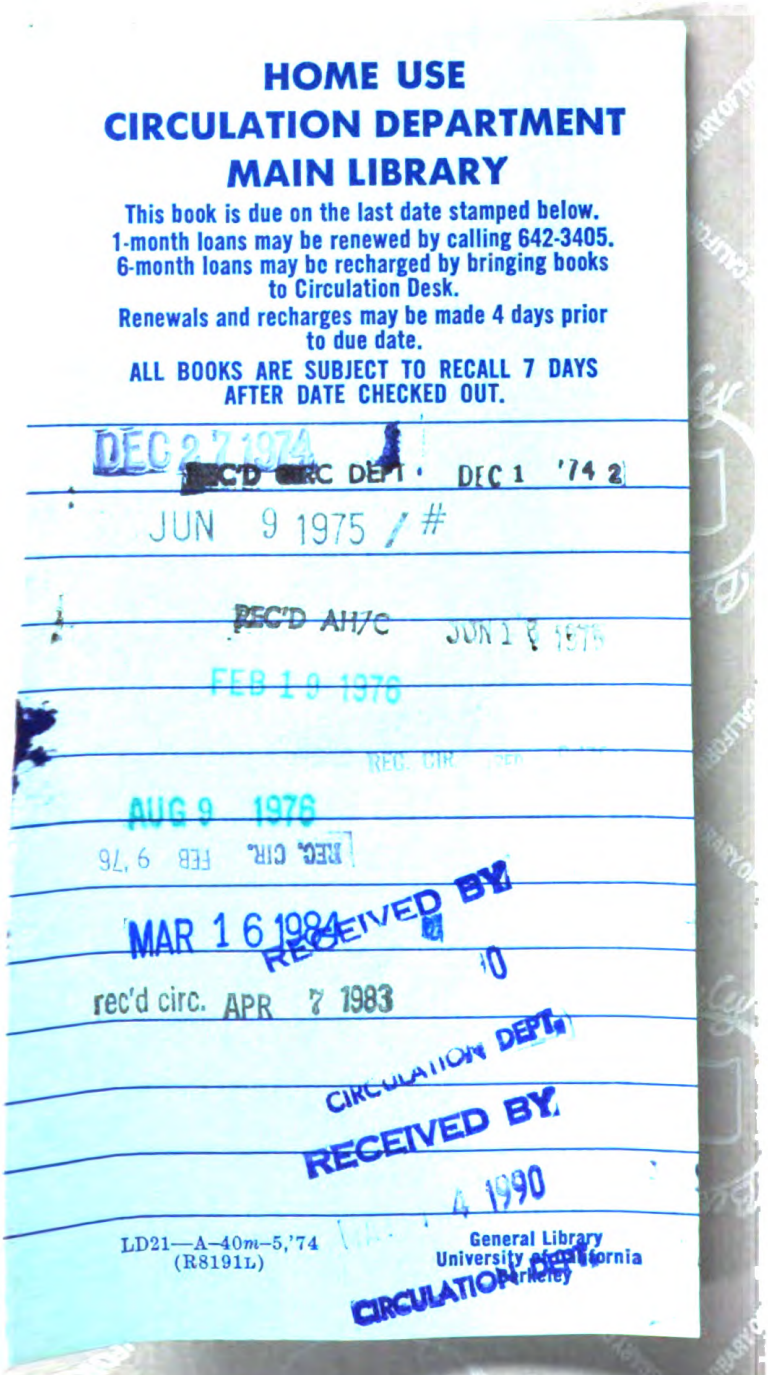
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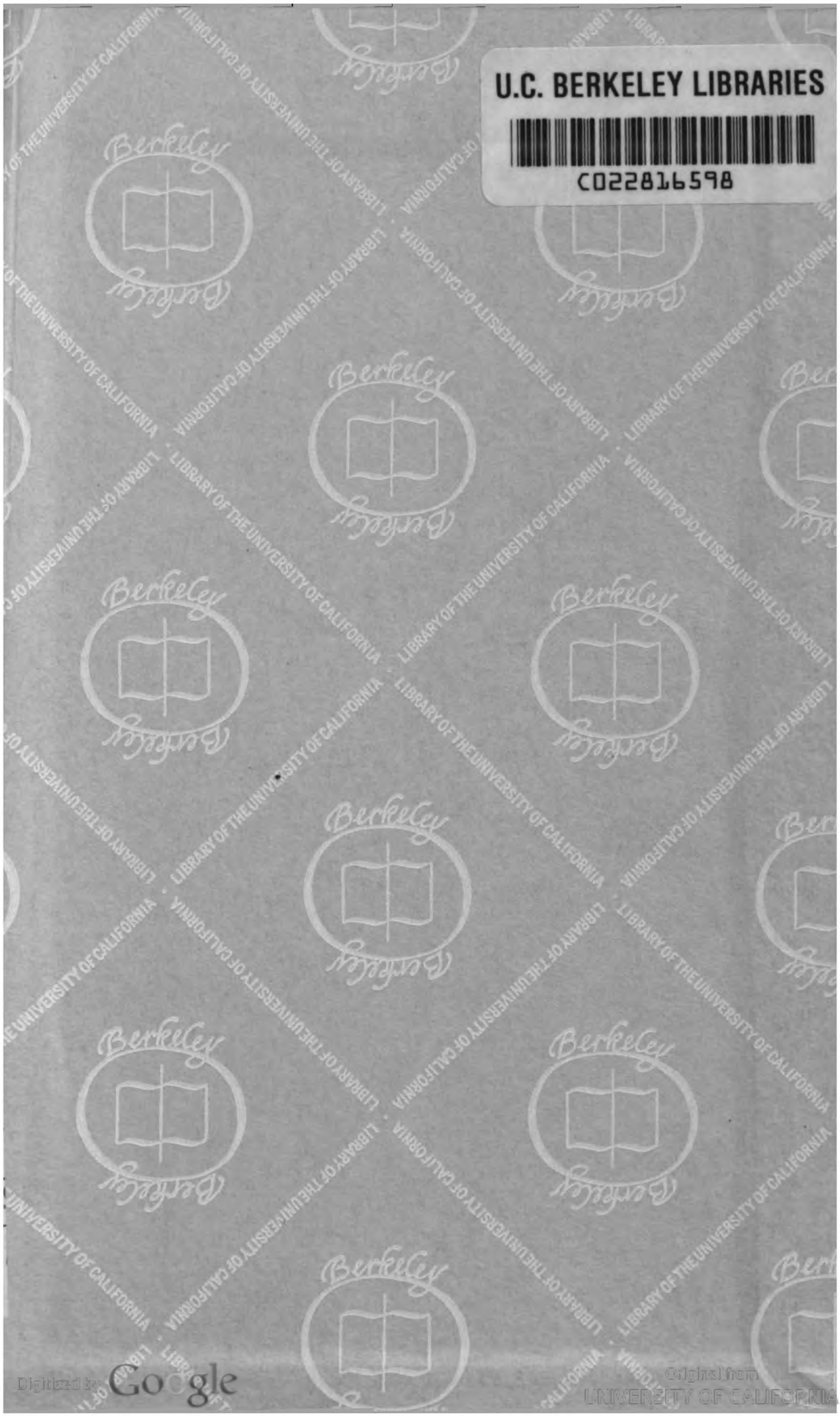
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